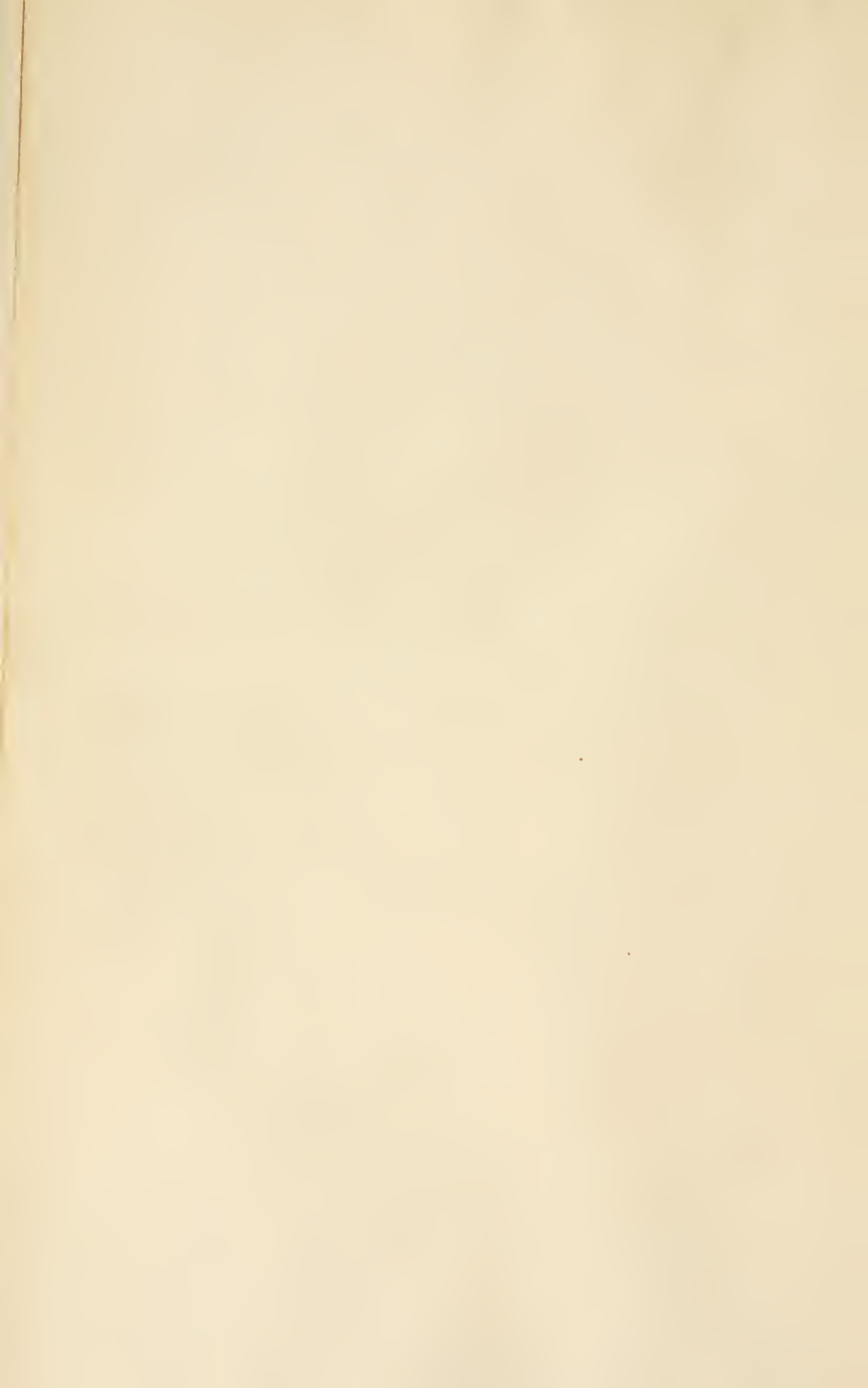






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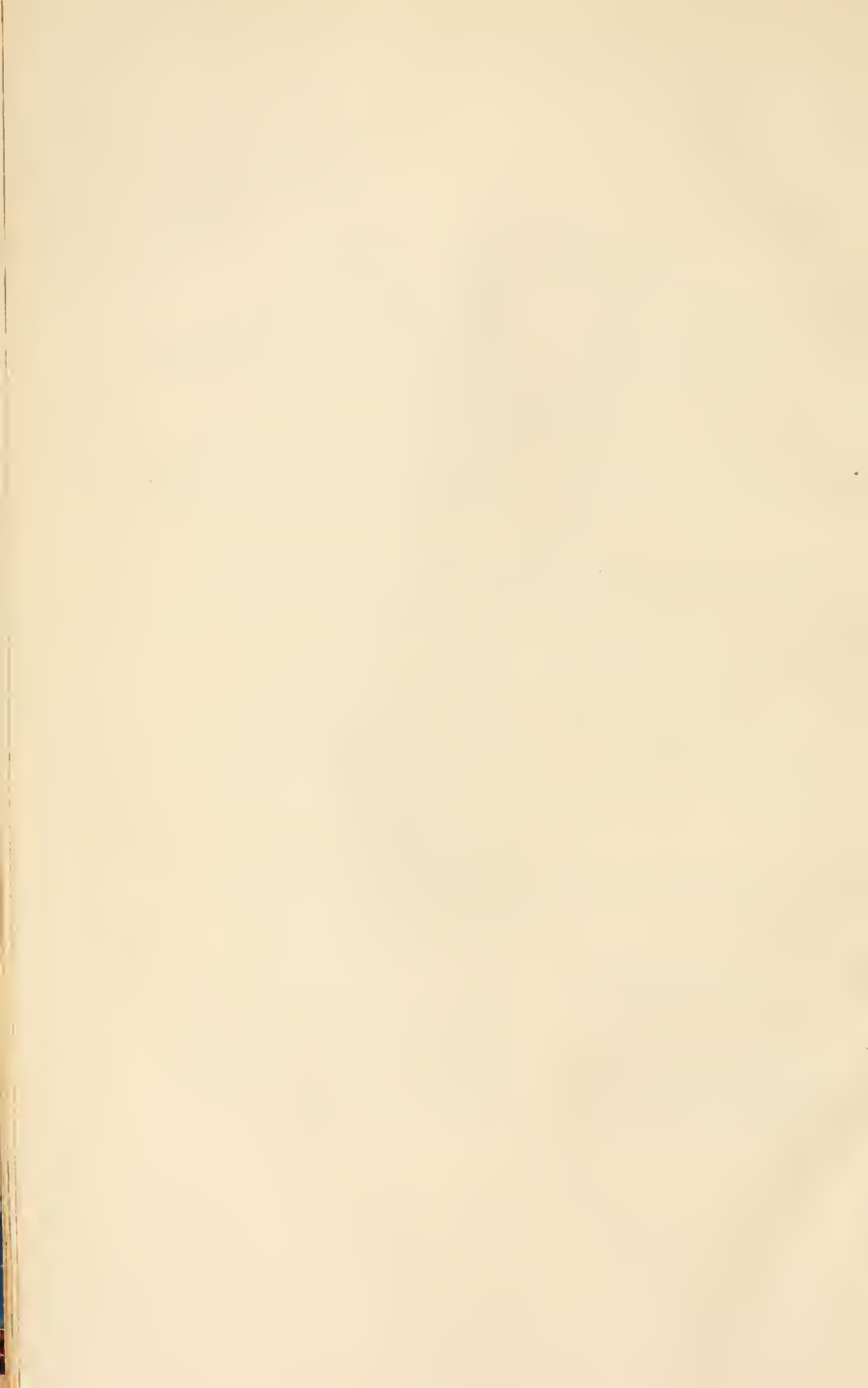
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## History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.

*By James Fred. McCurdy, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in University College, Toronto. Vol. I. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 425. Price, 14s.*

THIS is the first part of a work in two volumes, the second of which will soon appear. The present volume ends with the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians, B.C. 722; and the second will carry on the history to the downfall of the Persian Empire before Alexander, when the rule of the Eastern world passed from Asia to Europe. From the title of Professor McCurdy's work it might have been surmised or feared that it was merely another of the many efforts to exploit the monuments of Babylon and Assyria in the interests of Apologetics. Even if this had been true, the book would have been worthy of attention, because the author, being himself able to read the monuments, would have given us a first-hand and trustworthy account of their meaning and bearing. The dispassionate spirit also in which he writes, and the entire absence of any straining to discover coincidences with Scripture, or confirmations of its statements, would have given the reader confidence, and been a guarantee to him that his guide was a historian and not a partisan. But, though the author's interest no doubt centres in Israel, even Israel is regarded broadly as a member of the great Shemitic race, though its place in history and the contributions it made to the thought of mankind may require that it be oftener contrasted than compared with the other members. The author's work might fitly have been designated a History of the Shemitic World. This world consists of the compact square or parallelogram of territory bounded on the east by the line of mountains extending from the Persian Gulf through Elam, Media, and so on, north to the neighbourhood of Lakes Urmia and Van and the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates; on the north by a line running from the sources of these rivers west to the head of the Mediterranean; on the west by the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; and on the south by the ocean between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. This world was mainly inhabited by Shemites, and mostly ruled by them, till the Persians came upon the scene and fell heir to the empire of the Chaldeans. Of course the Shemitic empire, whether the early Babylonian one, the Assyrian, or the later Babylonian (Chaldean), often exceeded the limits of this well-defined area, grasping at the kingdoms of Elam and Media on

the east and incorporating them, and, when its western career was checked by the sea, rolling its forces south till it overran Egypt and even Ethiopia. But these conquests were temporary, and they had their counterpart in the fact that the mountaineers of Elam and the Kasshites occasionally invaded and ruled for long periods the primitive seats of the Babylonian kingdoms between the rivers, and, wielding their resources, entered into their ideal inheritance as far west at least as the Jordan valley and North Arabia, as in the case of Chedorlaomer.

Agreeing with many good authorities, Dr McCurdy argues that the immemorial home of the Shemites was Arabia. In a far distant antiquity they formed what he calls *hordes*, speaking a language in common, which in process of time developed into several well-defined dialects under climatic and other influences. Even before the dawn of history he considers that they must have crystallised into tribes which, though living side by side, had already to some extent differences of speech, religion, and manners. Some of these tribes moved eastwards, throwing themselves upon the swampy lowlands of the Babylonian plain between the rivers, and founding the earliest Babylonian city-kingdoms. From there a colony moved northwards, and laid the foundation of the new Assyrian state (Asshur). Other tribes moved up the Euphrates, concentrating themselves in the fertile regions watered by the Chabor, the plain known as Mesopotamia or Aram of the two rivers, with its sacred city Haran. These were the Arameans, who, however, sent off swarms westwards, founding a number of small kingdoms in the north of Syria, and eventually the powerful state of Damascus, so long the dangerous rival of northern Israel. While, finally, other tribes moving possibly up the Jordan valley or the sea coast, seized the valleys of Palestine as Canaanites, and the narrow plain on the coast further north as Phenicians. Aramean tribes are found at all times hovering on the borders of the Babylonian plain on both its sides. A family, possibly of Aramean descent, migrated from Ur (Mugheir, *i.e.*, Muḳayyar, Bitumen Town), and after lingering for a time about Haran, finally settled east of the Jordan as Ammonites and Moabites, and south of the sea as Edomites; while their kindred, the Israelites, after a long sojourn on the borders of Egypt, entered Canaan, and settled beside them at a very recent date.

It is the history of this Shemitic world which Dr McCurdy has undertaken to present—the history of its peoples, its institutions, its manners, its religion, and its worship, no less than the history of its wars and conquests, and varying external form and fortunes. It is this wide scope that gives the author's work its interest. Because, whatever differences may appear between one family of this race and another, the resemblances common to all far outweigh them;

and in reading the history of the Babylonians we are acquiring conceptions and securing points of view which form the best preparation for reading with real insight the history of Israel. There are several things which distinguish all these peoples—one is their political incapacity, another their commercial instinct, and a third their extraordinary religiousness. Without the instinct of political articulation or organisation, they were incapable either of governing or being governed. The city was the largest conception they possessed, and citizenship in the sense that all the inhabitants united should, through representatives, share in the government, or in the sense that the ruler should delegate his power to the people and share with them the rule of the commonwealth, was an idea never reached. Hence the territory of a city was not enlarged by peaceful combination with another city, but by conquest of it. Even the Assyrians in their palmiest days, under Tiglath Pileser and the strenuous rulers of the house of Sargon, never founded an empire in the sense of a homogeneous organism. The cohesion was no closer than that the conquered peoples acknowledged suzerainty and paid tribute. This was largely because the instinct of unity was wanting to the race. Hence, whenever the Assyrian ruler died, a fever of revolt spread through the whole states or cities subject, the yoke was thrown off, and his successor had the work of subjugation to accomplish over again. And if some of the Assyrian monarchs did rise to the idea of a cohesive and homogeneous empire, they could perceive no means of securing homogeneousness but the barbarous expedient of tearing up populations by the roots and transplanting them among a distant and alien race, a policy continued by the last great Shemitic state, the Chaldeans. But even this policy failed, as the history of the Jews in Babylon shows, and indeed their whole subsequent history up to this day. And if this was owing in some measure to religion, it was scarcely due to the distinctive character of the religion of Israel, but to some deeper instinct of race; for the people of Cutha, who were transferred from Babylon to the city of Samaria, amalgamated so little with the surrounding population that Samaria was virtually a heathen city in the days of the Maccabees. Dr McCurdy signalises Israel as affording the only instance of a Shemitic state arising by the voluntary confederation of a number of tribes. There were possibly other examples. But even in regard to Israel any reader of the Book of Judges can perceive how readily the unity of the tribes secured at the exodus fell asunder on their entering Canaan, and how difficult it was to secure, even in the face of the greatest dangers, co-operation or common action. And even when the danger of complete subjugation at the hands of the Philistines united the tribes under a monarch, the inherent propensity to indi-

vidualism revealed itself after two or three reigns, and the united state broke across into two.

Dr McCurdy is inclined to ascribe much of the political feebleness of the Shemites to their religion. Not quite in the same way as Renan, for the latter attributed the form of their religion, their monotheism, and all their other defects, political and artistic, to a certain simplicity and monotony of mind, which could not rise to the varied or the complex. Dr McCurdy does not go so far back, but, starting from the nature of their religious ideas, endeavours to trace the influence of these upon their social and civil evolution. The god or deity was the bond of union; the city or state was one because the deity was one. But the neighbouring city or tribe was a unity for the same reason, and its god was another. And the Shemitic gods were intolerant. It was not the God of Israel only that was a jealous God. Asshur was equally impatient of other gods, and more contemptuous toward them. Hence, so long as the god existed, the people who worshipped him was indestructible. It must be confessed that we enter a very difficult region here. The author, in a few condensed but well considered sentences, gives his view of the origin of the conception of god and its development. He traces religion to several sources—animism, reverence for dead ancestors and for heroes of the tribe. Of necessity much must be conjecture. By the time we meet with these religions in history they are greatly developed, and the gods have been endowed with qualities of the spirit of man not originally belonging to them. The gods of the eastern Shemites seem mostly either cosmogonic or elemental to begin with; but when we meet with Asshur first in history, has he not become in good measure the reflection of the spirit of his people, the Assyrians? Not, of course, that any people created a god by projecting their own spirit into objective existence; they heard him in the wind or perceived him in the sweet influences of the skies, or felt him in the predominance of the spheres; but having found him, did they not proceed to fashion him after their own likeness? This, at anyrate, can be said, that all over the Shemitic world religion is the same, the relation of people and god is alike; the religiousness of Israel did not differ from that of the other members of the race,—the difference lay in the conception of its God to which Israel had attained from the beginning, in the ethical nature of Jehovah. And if the repulsive features of Shemitism were modified or almost effaced in Israel, this was not due to a different conception of the relation of god to people, institutions, and the life of men, but to a different idea of the Spirit of Him who was the God of the people, who inspired their institutions and animated their life. As Dr McCurdy describes the early Babylonians,

religion appears to have been the occupation of their life. If they carried war to the Mediterranean, it was that they might cut down timber on Amanus or Lebanon, and hew stones on the western mountains to rear temples to the god; if they harried Arabia, it was to secure spices to offer as sweet incense to him, or precious jewels to deck his image. The king or ruler was merely the representative of the god. A delegation of his power to others was therefore impossible; if he had governors in distant cities they were mere collectors of tribute,—a share in the rule could not be given them, much less to the people. The conception of citizenship was wanting; and freedom could not broaden slowly down, for the idea of popular freedom could not exist. Thus the author attributes the rudimentariness of the political idea to the exaggerated predominance of the religious idea. His reasoning may not convince every one. Religion, no doubt, reacted on all other elements of the people's life, but whether defect on the one hand was due to exaggeration on the other, or whether defect and exaggeration alike were not due to some more fundamental characteristics of the race, is a question worth considering. At anyrate, the predominance of the religious idea was characteristic of all branches of the race. The Jews desire a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom. All development to the former is theurgic, every momentum of progress due to a divine *coup*; progress by ethical development, by the free expansion on all its sides, social, moral, and ideal, of the human mind, was an idea foreign to the East. Yet this emphasis, even though one-sided, on the divine is just the imperishable contribution made by this race to the common life of man; and when the other side, the free development from within of the human mind, the search for wisdom, is brought under the unbroken guidance of the divine Spirit, human perfection will be reached.

It is when Dr McCurdy begins his actual narrative in his second book that his history becomes of absorbing interest. His work has not, of course, the same wealth of illustration as that of Hommel, but by avoiding confusing details he tells a more intelligible story than either Hommel or Tiele. And were the story not read from contemporary monuments it would be incredible. Exploration of the mounds and buried cities of the Euphrates has not only added a new family to the great Shemitic race, but has shewn that this family has the oldest historical civilisation of them all. The first Sargon must have begun to reign about 3800 B.C. Hommel attaches to some carved articles which he figures in his pages the presumable date 5000 B.C. From the earliest times these eastern rulers seem to have regarded the Shemitic world as their natural heritage, for Sargon not only penetrated to the ocean, but appears to have sailed to Cyprus. Phenician bottoms must have carried

him and his troops, a proof that these maritime settlers were already traders at this early period. But though this antiquity be imposing, it is not impossible but that the eye can catch behind it the dying sunset of an antiquity more remote still. Assyriologists are divided on the question whether the Shemites were the first to people the Babylonian plains, or whether they did not impose themselves upon an older population of a different race (the Shumerians), whose science and literature and religion they partly appropriated and assimilated. Dr McCurdy argues the question with great fairness; and though he admits much intermixture of other races with the Shemitic inhabitants, particularly in Babylon,—for Asshur remained the purest type of the Shemite,—he is inclined to deny the existence of a non-Shemitic aboriginal population and language. A stranger can hardly venture to intermeddle in these esoteric disputes. The question turns largely on the cuneiform script. The characters of this writing in their oldest use were ideograms, that is, to the eye signs of objects, but of course to the ear expressing the sound of the name of the object. Later, these ideograms were used phonetically or syllabically. Now, if these ideograms had been invented by Shemites their phonetic value would naturally have been Shemitic sounds. But this is not the case. The ideogram for “house” does not sound *bût* but *ê*; and so the phonetic value of the sign for “god” is not *ilu*, or something similar, but *an*. To an outsider this appears conclusive, and Dr McCurdy’s answer to the argument is hardly convincing; and when he expresses the opinion that the cuneiform writing is a very sufficient means of representing Shemitic sounds, one who judges solely from transliterated texts can only reply that, if so, Babylonian Shemitic had already become considerably debased, and suffered from a confusion of sounds not unlike what prevailed in Galilee in the beginning of our era. Such names of deities, too, as Anu, Ea, Nergal, and even Maruduk (Merodach) have admittedly a very unshemitic look. No doubt a satisfactory etymology has not yet been found for Ishtar, though the masculine form of the name appearing in South Arabia and in Moab, and the feminine form in Palestine, the word is probably Shemitic. If it be not, its diffusion reveals not only an action of Shemites on other races, but a reaction of these races upon the Shemites, at so early a time that it affected every branch into which they became divided.

The history of the Shemitic world, as Dr McCurdy records it, must be read in his own pages. His work is clear, enlightening, and eminently suggestive. Space will allow a reference to one other thing only. The history is mainly a record of untiring energy and conquest. But there were times when the tide of energy was checked or receded—points in the history of the great predominat-

ing states when, from internal paralysis, their grasp of distant provinces was relaxed, or when some two of them formed a counterpoise to one another. These were the opportunities of weaker states, and often turning-points in their destinies. There are no more instructive parts in the author's work than when he signalises these pauses and shews their significance. About the time when Israel was entering Canaan a paralysis had fallen on all the great world powers. The Amarna tablets shew that the grasp of Egypt on Palestine was even then becoming feeble, and shortly after, or at least before the exodus, it was altogether relaxed. In the north the Hittite power had been greatly shattered by attacks which are not very well understood. And on the east, Assyria, which had supplanted Babylon in the rule of the kingdom of the rivers, was passing through such a period of internal decline as more than once occurred in its history. No great power barred the way into Palestine or guarded its gates on any side. Another turning-point was much later. The sudden efflorescence of Israel, both north and south, in the eighth century, under the contemporary monarchs Jeroboam II. and Uzziah, always appears singular. No doubt both were very able rulers. But Israel had been reduced to such a low ebb by the protracted wars with Syria (which had so gained the upper hand as to leave the King of Israel no more than ten chariots and fifty horsemen) that its brilliant expansion and recovery of the ancient boundaries, from the entering in of Hamath to the brook of the Arabah, was doubly remarkable. The explanation is partly that Damascus had been reduced to impotence by the Assyrians.

In the earlier chapters the author's style is perhaps a little heavy, but when he comes to his history proper it flows on in a clear and stately stream. He is never very animated, but, so far as we remember, he only once visibly nods,—when he says that “Judah was less than one hundred times as large as the realm” of Sennacherib, meaning apparently that Judah was a hundred times less than Sennacherib's realm (p. 75). He is little affected by the peculiarities of his near neighbours on the south. No doubt we have “locutions” for phrases or expressions. Also the characteristic “aside from.” “Aside from” may be as ancient and as correct, for anything we know, as “apart from” or “besides,” but it always gives one a turn, and is a vile “locution.” Errors are very few. On p. 199, “creditable” seems a mistake for credible; p. 229, Asshur should be Asher; p. 396, Hystaspis would be better; and everywhere Coele-Syria rather than Coelo-. The publishers have set forth the work in a style befitting its importance.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

## Die Literatur des Alten Testaments nach der Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung.

Von G. Wildeboer. Unter Mitwirkung des Verf. aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Pf. Dr. F. Risch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo., pp. x. 464. Price, Mk. 9.

PROF. WILDEBOER'S excellent work, *De Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds*, has quickly naturalised itself in Germany, and German being the second language of most well-trained theological students, we may hope that it will become known to many busy but studious clergymen and laymen. The idea of treating the component parts of the Old Testament, not as they have come to us from the hands of the latest arrangers and editors, but as they are now redistributed by most critics of what is conventionally called a more or less "advanced" type, is a good one, and it has been well carried out by Prof. Wildeboer. Readers of the *Critical Review* do not need to be told that the author is not merely a critic, but keenly interested in the continuous development of the Church on its historic lines, but the appearance of this German translation justifies, if it does not require, a fresh commendation of his work to all those who regret the tardiness with which the results of sound criticism are adopted into our educational systems. The work in its present form has, however, another claim on the attention of students. Early in the present year Prof. W. H. Kusters, who has succeeded to Kuenen's chair at Leyden, published an important work entitled *Het herstel van Israël in het Perzische tijdvak*, in which the subject of the chronology of the Persian period of Jewish history, already discussed by van Hoonacker, Imbert, Kuenen, and (lately) Sir Henry Howorth, is treated with the coolness and sagacity of a disciple of Kuenen. Prof. Wildeboer (in the *Theologische Studiën*) was perhaps the first scholar to recognise the cogency of his Leyden colleague's arguments. He differs from Prof. Kusters only in thinking it probable (for critically admissible evidence there is none) that a small number of Jewish exiles returned to Judæa under Cyrus or Darius, but he agrees with him that the real builders of the Second Temple were the Jews who had never been to Babylon, and that most of the exiles who returned at all came under Ezra (about 433 B.C.). The Chronicler's statement that some 40,000 exiles returned under Zerubbabel in the time of Cyrus, thus becomes an immense exaggeration, or, as Kusters would say, a pure fiction, the offspring of an unhistorical and prejudiced mind. In the original edition of the *Letterkunde* Prof. Wildeboer could not take account of these arguments; thus the German translation obtains an independent

value of its own. It is as yet only the section on Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah which has been modified in accordance with these results, with a bold confidence that Koster's conclusions will be at once accepted by moderate critics like himself. But I cannot entertain a doubt that the section on Isa. xl.-lxvi. will be equally affected by them in a new edition. At any rate I have myself found the necessity of adapting my own explanation of that large part of Isa. xl.-lxvi. which has been written (as I hope that I have satisfactorily proved) by the post-Exilic successors of the Second Isaiah, to the results of Koster's, and take this opportunity of mentioning the fact before my own work can appear. Prof. Wildeboer's modification of Koster's theory seems to me sound, but it produces no appreciable effect on our general view of the course of history. In other respects I see no very striking alteration. In section 9 (p. 136) a reference to the complication introduced into the criticism of the passages in Genesis assigned to the second Yahwist by the discovery of the el-Amarna tablets would have been in place. In section 23 (Proverbs and Job) the reader might have been told that in accepting the speeches of Elihu as a genuine part of the original poem of Job, Prof. Wildeboer ceases to represent what may be called the average opinion of moderate critical scholars. But the objections which an honest critic would probably have to make to some of the details of any attempt such as Prof. Wildeboer's are slight indeed compared to his grateful recognition of the sterling value of this useful work. T. K. CHEYNE.

### **The Oracles ascribed to Matthew by Papias of Hierapolis : A Contribution to the Criticism of the New Testament.**

*With Appendices. London : Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 274.  
Price, 6s.*

THE writer of this book undertakes to examine the exact meaning of Papias in the sentence Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραϊοὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δύνατος ἕκαστος, which we would render, "Matthew procured the compilation of the Utterances (of our Lord), and each man translated them according to his ability."

There was room in English theological literature for a new work on Papias, for nearly twenty years have passed since Bishop Lightfoot penned his famous Essays for the *Contemporary Review*; and the progress which has been made during the intervening period in the historical criticism of the Gospels has inevitably

caused much of what he wrote to need reconsideration. We cannot think, however, that this treatise has supplied the want. The author does not seem to us to possess the necessary qualifications. For example, he tells us, "The word ἡρμήνευσε (= interpreted) may be taken to mean either 'explained' or 'translated,'" and he finally decides in favour of "explained." Now, I put it to any one, whether "John wrote a treatise in French and William interpreted it," can mean anything but that William translated it, or paraphrased it, or in some way made it intelligible to the English reader. In Greek, where antithesis is the back-bone of composition, the necessity for so understanding the sentence is much greater, and we cannot think highly of the critical insight of an author who does not feel this instinctively.

Again, it is clear from these pages that the writer has no knowledge of Aramaic or even of Hebrew. This is surely a serious defect in treating of Papias, and many a weary page does it needlessly inflict upon us. A man cannot satisfactorily deal with the Septuagint without some knowledge of Hebrew. Look also at the following extract: "Aramaic was not a learned language. The Christians of Palestine, whose mother-tongue it was, understood it perfectly. The Greek Christians did not understand it at all. Where then is the meaning that 'every one interpreted it as he was able'?" (p. 4). Now, we admit that Palestinian Aramaic was in a very formless and fluctuating state, but Papias does not assert that "every one" translated it. The verb is in the singular, and the distributive ἕκαστος is used. If three or four persons attempted the task, the language will be sufficiently accounted for. If Papias himself was one of them—and he talks elsewhere of his translations of the Utterances—those who have ever tried to render Aramaic into Greek will feel the force of the self-depreciatory, apologetic way in which he speaks of his efforts.

But if our author is seriously handicapped by his ignorance of Semitic languages, what must we think of his Greek scholarship? Examine the following examples:—

(1) οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, "not as making a systematic disquisition upon the Dominical oracles" (p. 2).

(2) Ματθαῖος τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, "Matthew wrote on the (Messianic) prophecies" (p. 83).

(3) καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου, "and whosoever shall pervert the oracles of (concerning) the Lord" (p. 67).

(4) διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν, "having thoroughly established the truth concerning them" (p. 9).

(5) "The word *exotericus* has a recognised meaning which appears very apt for the interpretation of this passage. It means that

which is contained in writing as opposed to mere oral instruction " (p. 18).

These translations are either careless or perverse, and yet they are thrust on us when much depends upon them. We shall presently maintain that our author's main argument rests on a false rendering of a Greek sentence, and that in another place he takes up a most important position in defiance of the fundamental rules of Greek syntax.

After stating the problem which he proposes to solve by an entirely new method, the writer proceeds to discuss the date at which Papias published his "Exposition of the Utterances of our Lord." This he places at "not earlier than A.D. 80, or later than A.D. 98. About A.D. 90 would seem to be the most probable date" (p. 31). Bishop Lightfoot had given "A.D. 130-140, or even later," and other authorities, who differ widely from each other, have accepted this. But our author argues from the tenses of the Greek verbs which are used, that Papias must have written during the lives of Aristion and John the Elder, who had been disciples of the Lord and therefore cannot have lived much later than A.D. 100. The tenses of the verbs, however, merely shew that these two men were living at the time when Papias was pursuing his inquiries.<sup>1</sup> The context shews that he did this in the early days of his episcopate, or even before his consecration, a whole generation before he began to write. Why else should he speak of it as a chapter in his history which had long been closed? Why else should he insist on the pains with which he had learned the traditions by heart, and on the excellence of the memory by means of which he had retained them? Here, then, we perceive a mistake so fatal to the whole argument, that were it not for the extreme importance of the Papias question, we might well decline to pursue the subject any further.

<sup>1</sup> The rule in English Reported Speech is that the leading verb affects all the verbs in the speech following. Thus, "I *am* glad to see you. It *was* a fine day yesterday. You *will* be glad to hear that I *shall* commence harvest to-morrow," becomes, "He told me that he *was* glad to see me; it *had been* a fine day yesterday. I *should* be glad to hear that he *would* commence harvest to-morrow," "should" and "would" being not subjunctives but past tenses of the indicative. But in Greek, when the leading verb is in a past tense, although the mood of the verbs following may be changed into the optative or not at the option of the writer, the tenses *must* remain the same as they were in the direct speech. Therefore the only correct way to translate the quotation from Papias is, "And if at times I was visited by one of the pupils of the Fathers, I would examine him upon the discourses of the Fathers, as to what Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of our Lord's disciples (once) *had said*, or what Aristion, or the presbyter John, our Lord's disciples (still) *said*." And upon this way of translating this crucial passage we must insist.

The Emperor Caius is said to have expressed a wish that the whole Roman people had but one neck, that he might have had the pleasure of severing it. And a certain class of critics trace everything back to Papias, in the hope that if they can discredit him, they may shake the foundations of early Church history. In this chapter the real question is the date of the Apostle John's death, which our author tries to put thirty years earlier than ancient authorities place it. It was John the Presbyter—not John the Apostle—who (we are assured) lived till nearly the close of the first century, and most people ignorantly or wilfully confused him with the son of Zebedee. In particular, Irenæus, the pupil of Polycarp, had been led in his youth to believe that Polycarp had conversed with the beloved Apostle. In later life, he discovered the deception. What was he to do? If he confessed the truth, he would sink in the popular estimation; if he told a lie, he would imperil his soul. He resolved at last to act a lie. Throughout his writings he calls John the "disciple" of Jesus, never the "apostle." Those who were in the secret knew that John the Presbyter is sometimes intended, but the mass of readers are deceived into supposing that it was always the Apostle.

We should have thought that Irenæus (like Papias, the author of the Muratorian fragment on the Canon, and other early writers), borrowed the title "disciple" from the Gospels, especially from the fourth Gospel. But in any case we cannot allow the existence of the Christian Church to be ignored. In 180 A.D. there must have been hundreds of Christians in Asia Minor and elsewhere who had derived from tradition a tolerably correct idea of the date of the Apostle's decease, and who would thus have had a guide to the meaning of Papias which we no longer possess. It is impossible to suppose that Polycarp, Papias, and Irenæus, even if they had wished to do so, could have misled the whole Church.

The next point of discussion is the meaning of the word *λόγια*. Our author complains that the early Latin Fathers perversely translate it by *verba, eloquia*, or *sermones*, connecting it with the idea of words, oratory or discourses; not till we come to Rufinus is the proper rendering *oracula* given, which connects it with oracles, Scripture, and inspired records.

Now, the early writers include S. Jerome, who was a practised translator, and possessed a competent knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. It seems to me that his rendering is perfectly right. For *λόγια* is properly an adjective, the neuter plural of *λόγιος*, which means "an eloquent man." And although in profane authors *λόγιον* is sometimes applied to an oracle, it is rather as the utterance of the god than as the *χρησμός*. Our author confesses that he can see no difference between *λόγια* and *λόγοι* in

the Septuagint. We should as soon look for a difference between "he spake" and "he said."

If we turn to the Hebrew, we shall find this reasoning corroborated. *לֹגִיוֹן* commonly represents *לֵךְ*, a poetical and rather rare word, derived however from the commonest verb in the language, *לָךְ*, "to say." In the LXX., therefore, *לֹגִיוֹן* simply recalls *τάδε λέγει ὁ Κύριος*, and this is the meaning which underlies the word not only in the LXX. but in Philo, Josephus, and the early Christian Fathers. The context alone can decide whether the "Utterances of the Lord" are the Utterances of Jehovah or the Utterances of the Lord Jesus. We deem it therefore superfluous to examine the twenty-six passages which our author has laboriously collected. As well might we collect examples to prove that *text* always means a verse of Scripture. In a certain class of writers it invariably does so, but if you look beyond them, you will find the wider meaning asserting itself.

Papias uses the word *לֹגִיוֹן* three times in the few fragments of his work which have reached us. I agree with our author that there is a presumption that he uses it always in the same sense, but I insist that in the fragment about S. Mark we *must* translate (s.v.l.) "not as though he were making a catena of our Lord's Utterances," and therefore I should claim this rendering for the two other passages also. "S. Matthew" therefore "procured the compilation of the Utterances of our Lord," and the title of the lost work of Papias was "An Exposition of the Utterances of our Lord," nor do I know of any reason why this rendering should be called in question. Much has been said about the silliness of Papias, but if he, on writing a treatise upon the Messianic prophecies taken from the Old Testament, instead of calling it *ἐξήγησις τῶν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητειῶν*, deliberately preferred the title *ἐξήγησις λογίων Κυριακῶν*, so far from sneering at the mental calibre of Irenæus for understanding him to mean "An exposition of the words of our Lord," we should say that no Greek could have taken the sense to be otherwise. Dr Resch, in his *Agrapha*, has gone so far as to use *לֹגִיוֹן* in the singular for every Utterance which he can discover of extra-canonical sayings of Jesus, and we think that he is perfectly justified in doing so.

But our author, following the early Tübingen school, has very much to say about the heterodoxy of this primitive bishop. Papias was not only a credulous fool, but he warned his readers against expecting to find any spiritual food in S. Paul's Epistles. He wrote things which Eusebius dared not, or would not, quote. His book perished because it was shocking to post-Nicene orthodoxy.

Now, the quotations which have reached us from Papias are not always very pleasant or satisfactory reading, but we have no right

to suppose that they are fair samples of the bulk of the five books. Take a similar case. The fragments of the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" are far from satisfactory, but they owe their preservation to their very strangeness. The work as a whole was so orthodox that S. Jerome, after transcribing it, and translating it into both Greek and Latin, pronounced it to be the original of S. Matthew, and similarly the orthodox divines of the post-Nicene period gave Papias the title of the Great. Should his work ever be discovered—and who can say that it will not be?—we feel sure that it will not shock the Christian conscience. Destructive criticism, we are confident, will profit as little by it as by the discovery of Tatian's *Dia Tessarôn*.

Bishop Lightfoot, following the old commentators, argued that Papias, in his allusions to S. Matthew and S. Mark, was describing the genesis of our first and second Gospels. As far as S. Mark goes, he may well have been right. Of course our author says that this cannot be so, for Papias complains of lack of order, whereas S. Mark's Gospel is as orderly as any. The answer is easy. As long as men fancy that Papias—or his authority—preferred S. John's order or S. Matthew's to S. Mark's, the observation made by John the Presbyter will be perplexing. But if they will look at the reasons which the Presbyter himself produces, they will see that the criticism is a far-reaching one. The lack of chronology was inherent in the method of compilation. The Gospel of S. Mark consists of a number of detached lessons, issued originally by S. Peter, without any regard to chronological sequence, and subsequently strung together by S. Mark with only the rudest attempt to recover the true sequence. Long consideration of the subject has convinced me that this is the true account of the matter. S. Mark's arrangement is altogether wrong, and therefore the other Synoptists, who follow his arrangement, are wrong also. John the Presbyter may well have pointed out this from personal knowledge and conversation with eye-witnesses.

In the case of S. Matthew's Gospel it is not so easy to believe that Dr Lightfoot was right. Historical criticism has convinced us of the priority of S. Mark to S. Matthew. It follows from this, that S. Matthew's Gospel is a composite work of which the Apostle can only have written some parts, and the presbyter is probably speaking of those parts only. But what parts did he write? The *Logia*, we reply; by which we understand those "Utterances of the Lord" which go to make up the Sermon on the Mount and other discourses and parables which are absent from S. Mark, but are found in the first Gospel, and large portions of them in the third. Our author holds that S. Matthew wrote only those eleven quotations from the Old Testament which are

peculiar to the first Gospel, and are mostly introduced by the editorial phrase, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophets, saying."

Of course, our author holds that S. Matthew's supposed collection of prophecies was larger than this. Papias can hardly have written five books to explain eleven texts. And other Gospels, which have perished, may have incorporated the whole, or nearly the whole of S. Matthew's treatise. In particular, the Gospel which Justin Martyr is assumed to have used, is supposed to have been much richer in this department.

If such a collection did exist—whoever was the author—it seems to me more probable that Justin quoted from it direct than from any supposed gospel containing it. But what I wish to point out is, that these eleven quotations in our first Gospel are no part of the original work. They are comparatively late accretions, never essential to the narrative or really blended with it. The narrative is older and independent. If, therefore, S. Matthew died, as our author insists, about A.D. 63, having already compiled this book, how much older may the other parts of the Gospel be.

It is clear that the study of Messianic prophecy was an absorbing topic of the time. Every preacher would contribute something to it, and no subject was more popular in sermons. We hold that the collection of Messianic texts was a gradual growth, and that the antiquity of narratives embedded in our Gospels may sometimes be tested by their lack of this element.

Justin Martyr's Gospel quotations present a large number of very interesting problems, but we see nothing in the partial examination of a few of them, with which our author is content, to set aside the account by Dr Abbott in his article on the Gospels in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. We go even beyond the Rev. J. A. Cross, in holding that during the oral stage every considerable church must have had a Gospel of its own, identical with those of other churches in many points, but differing from them, sometimes considerably, both in contents and in wording. With S. Luke i. 1-4 before us, we can hardly deny that some of these Gospels had been partially committed to writing, enough perhaps to account for the language of 1 Tim. v. 18, but we see insuperable objections to the idea that Justin in the middle of the second century, when, as he informs us, the Gospels were already read in churches, used any other Gospel than the four which we possess.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

**Judaistic Christianity.**

*A Course of Lectures by F. J. A. Hort, D.D. Cambridge and London : Macmillan & Co., 1894. 8vo, pp. xii. 222. Price, 6s.*

THIS compendious little volume has a claim on the notice of all Biblical students. For its theme must remain, as Baur showed once for all, one of our chief criteria in the appreciation of the New Testament writings. Its central problem is this : By what stages did the Jewish particularism which so largely animated the early Jerusalem community give way to the universalism of S. Paul, which alone answered to the genius of the Gospel of Christ ? We have, as Harnack pointed out some years ago,<sup>1</sup> become "richer in historical points of view" on this question. But we have not yet attained more than an approximate answer to any but the broader issues involved. Accordingly, a fresh discussion from a master in mature and balanced criticism is most welcome, and even opportune. The method of exposition is eminently constructive, and the real religious problem is ever kept well to the front ; while side-lights break forth incidentally almost on every page.

With characteristic thoroughness Dr Hort begins at the real beginning, and in Chapter II., entitled "Christ and the Law," handles a very delicate topic with consummate skill and insight. Specially fine is the section on His attitude to John the Baptist. But every student of the Gospels will feel surer of his ground after reading all the pages in which hard texts like Matthew v. 17 ff., ix. 14 ff., xi. 2-19, xvii. 24-27, xxiii. 2, along with xv. 3-6, as well as those dealing with the original limitation of the Gospel to Israel, are made lucid, and fitting into a subtle harmony become deep water-marks of the historicity of our sources.

The results may be stated as follows :—Christ was the "fulfiller" of the Law and the Prophets, "in that He sought to give effect to their true purpose and inner meaning. He indicated that for Himself and His true disciples, the old form of the Law had ceased to be binding ; but He did not disobey its precepts or even the precepts of tradition, or encourage His disciples to do so, except in so far as obedience would have promoted that Pharisaic misuse of the Law and of tradition alike which called for His warmest denunciations. Nay, He did homage to that (for its time) right service of the old order, which was represented by John the Baptist, though He at the same time proclaimed its entirely lower and transitory character."

The shades of distinction here so briefly summarized will not fail to be valued by those whose patience has been at any time tried by

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, August 1886, pp. 222 ff.

the laborious onesidedness of men like Geiger and Grätz, when they try to handle the same theme. They will also follow our author when he proceeds: "The fundamental point, a fulfilment of the Law, which was not a literal retention of it as a code of commandments, was, as it is still, a conception hard to grasp: it was easier either to perpetuate the conditions of the old covenant or else to blaspheme them.<sup>1</sup> Again, there was ample matter for apparent contradiction in the *necessity for a time of transition*, during which the old order would live on by the side of the new, not Divinely deprived of its ancient sanctity, and yet laid under a Divine warning of not distant extinction. This period of transition was prefigured in the Baptist's own testimony: 'He must increase, but I must decrease'—decrease, not simply give way and be gone. . . . The great point to remember is, that it was hardly possible for either aspect to be forgotten in man's recollections of the original Gospel at any period of the Apostolic age, however vaguely and confusedly both might be apprehended" (pp. 36-38). Surely in such a passage we have already in germ an analysis of the actual conditions of thought in the Apostolic age. And when we consider how modern Jewish writers have failed to interpret this twofoldness of the expressed mind of Christ, we shall cease to wonder that early Jewish Christians should have found the problem of Continuity amid Progress, as involved in the Gospels and evolved by Stephen and Paul, all too high for them at first.

To the sympathetic unfolding of this drama, well-nigh tragedy as it was at times, of primitive Christianity, Chapter III. is devoted. It is refreshingly historic in spirit,<sup>2</sup> untinged by the subtle intrusion of later ecclesiastical associations, which is, alas, still all too common even with certain scholarly writers. Acts ii. 42 is very frankly handled; ἡ κοινὴ has a full-blooded sense assigned to it; while "the 'breaking of the bread' is, of course, what we call the Holy Communion in its primitive form, as an Agape or Supper of Communion," held too in private houses (κατ' οἶκον). But this and the next chapter, which carry us down to the Jerusalem Conference—that great turning-point in our subject—are practically a running paraphrase of the first half of the Acts, and simply teem with points. Thus, in Acts xi. 20, Dr Hort cannot accept the easier "Greeks" in place of the better supported "Hellenists," as those addressed by Cypriots and Cyrenians at Antioch. The latter,

<sup>1</sup> The *media via* marked out by Hort appears very vividly in the well-known saying in *Codex Bezae*, addressed to a man found working in the field on the Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup> Some may perhaps think that Dr Hort takes the numbers of the growing Church rather literally, and might desiderate a little more recognition of the possibly diverse sources underlying the Acts.

he supposes, may here include "the fearers of God, or proselytes of the less strict sort, such as Cornelius and probably the eunuch had been (xi. 3); but no one as yet preached to men entirely heathens." Then, touching Peter's weakness at Antioch, as recorded in Gal. ii. 11-14, he also holds a view slightly different from the usual one. Peter is at first inclined to treat on terms of perfect equality Gentile believers, so recently recognised as brethren, on the basis of the Precepts enjoining abstinence from Idolatry, Impurity, and the use of certain forms of food specially abhorrent to Jewish sentiment—so "answering to the renunciations which early became a condition of baptism." But subsequently he was terrorised by the public opinion of the Jerusalem Church, with which James sympathised at least to the extent of urging a certain "opportunism" of reserve as expedient. This, of course, argued an inferiority of Gentile Christians, which Paul could not tamely tolerate; and Dr Hort thinks that the Jerusalem authorities must have confessed him to be strictly in the right; but he thinks also that the necessity of actual communion of the closer order was avoided by tacit mutual consent, each type—the actually circumcised and the uncircumcised Christians—taking its own course for the time. Yet the resultant Dualism was temporary, and was modified by the influence of "the Dispersion"; in principle, moreover, S. Paul had already won the day. But that he was not the man to push the advantage gained for born Gentiles in a *doctrinaire* way, alien to the spirit of 1 Cor. ix. 19 f., appears from the case of Timothy, adequate practical reasons for whose circumcision are supplied in Acts xvi. 4.

Touching the Galatians, we may note that while our author wrote in the pre-Ramsay stage of the subject, he feels that the reasons given by Lightfoot for dating the Epistle after, rather than before, the Epistles to the Corinthians are "not all equally good." In fact, his own views, as here stated, could easily be fitted into Ramsay's scheme; and, indeed, the "calm and deliberate manner" in which Paul "sums up the Judaistic controversy" in *Romans* seems to point to the lapse of several years between it and *Galatians*. For "we can now see that the crisis of Apostolic Christianity was virtually over when S. Paul wrote" to Rome, on the eve of his perilous mission to Jerusalem. On the other hand, the "persecution of S. Paul by unbelieving Judaism" was about to reach its climax. Arrived at Jerusalem, he was indeed welcomed by the more representative men among "the brethren." Yet it seems clear that the need of circumspectness had been already felt: the advice of the *zekénim*, with James at their head, implies that ugly rumours had gained wide credence with the "Christian Jews living mixed among the general body of Jews." The ultimate source of such calumnies was probably unbelieving Judaism,

especially that of Asia Minor (xxi. 27). The attempted refutation by object-lesson, as suggested by the *zekénim*, Dr Hort accepts as quite consistent with the Apostle's own practice as a Jew, and supports his view by Acts xxiv. 17 (*προσφοράς*).

Passing now to Rome, Dr Hort explains the ignorance of the leading Jews as to Paul's person by the lapse of time during his stay at Cæsarea, which might make his enemies less apt to dog his steps with slander. He finds, too, no signs as yet of a Judaizing party among Roman Christians. But he does not explain how otherwise Phil. i. 15 *ff.* is to be taken; nor can the party there referred to be regarded as something of very recent growth. All the more strange is it that in Phil. iii. 17 *ff.* (*cf.* Rom. xvi. 17-20) our author should refuse to see, with Lightfoot, any "antinomian tendency" as menacing the Philippians, and prefers to contrast "the visible *πολίτευμα* to which they (Judaizers) cling, with the true invisible Christian *πολίτευμα* in the heavens." *Aliquando dormitat Homerus!*

Far more convincing is the discussion of the "Colossian Heresy," expressed generically in ii. 8, and specifically in ii. 16-23. Having shown that the latter passage has no clearly non-Judaic features, Dr Hort paraphrases *τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης* by "that philosophy of his which you know of" (*cf.* 1 Cor. i. 21), which enjoined subservience to human tradition and the rudiments of the world (*cf.* 20, 22); and concludes that the theory of "some sort of theosophic speculation" is needless. The 'philosophy' would thus be "merely a fresh example of a widely-spread tendency of that age to disarm Western prejudice against things Jewish by giving them a quasi-Hellenic varnish. Angel-worship might easily be treated as an esoteric lore, and distinctions of foods and days as the perfection of a refined morality above the level of the common multitude." For "the disposition to treat ethics as the true substantial philosophy" was already abroad, and during the third century at least gave rise to a technical use of *φιλοσοφία* for the anchorite life and principles. Hence the *ταπεινοφροσύνη* here censured is "a grovelling habit of mind, choosing lower things as the primary sphere of religion, and not *τὰ ἄνω*, the region in which Christ is." And this same temper, applied to the unknown sphere of angelic being (ii. 18), tended at once to create rivals to Christ Himself (*v.* 4)—a thing quite easy where current Jewish conceptions as to Messiah were not expanding in the light of the real Messiah, Jesus.

An instructive parallel to part of the facts at Colossæ, and a contrast to the treatment there called for, is found in Romans xiv. (*cf.* xv. 1-13). The recrudescence of certain tendencies abroad among "the Dispersion" is involved in either case. But we follow Lightfoot as against Dr Hort in believing that Essenes or Therapeutæ,

whose Egyptian branch is depicted in Philo's *De vita contemplativa*,<sup>1</sup> supply just the type of antecedent training which even he feels inclined to assume.

So, too, with the Pastoral Epistles, which our author regards "as genuine, and that not merely in parts; the theory of large early interpretations does not work out at all well in detail. . . . The real difficulties lie in the field of language, and of ideas as embodied in language." As to the false teaching implied in them, he starts from a modified acceptance of certain distinctions laid down in Weiss' recent commentary, and then observes that "several obvious marks of Judaism are present," yet not of Pharisaic Judaism — Paul's old enemy. *Ψευδώνυμος γνώσις* must be taken relative to the context in which it appears, and this as determined by *μύθοι καὶ γενεαλογίαι ἀπέραντοι* (=Haggada of type seen in *Book of Jubilees*) and *νομοδιδασκαλοὶ* (where *νόμος*=Halacha), would seem to be Judaistic. Read, then, in this connection, *Ψευδώνυμος γνώσις* may easily refer to "the distinctive lore of a class of canonists and casuists" (so the *ἀντιθέσεις* attributed to it), "a special knowledge limited to experts or initiated persons" like the "Wise Men" of the Talmud (cf. John vii. 49). As for the traces of a nascent tendency to ethical dualism in 1 Tim. iv. 1 ff., this has at any rate no philosophical basis, but may well have its roots in some sentiment among the imperfectly known Dispersion, akin to Essenism. It is surely a merit of the view here taken of the Pastorals, that it finds in early Christianity traces of that Rabbinic factor in Judaism which might *a priori* be expected to come to the surface. Finally, as regards the New Testament, a chapter is devoted to the Epistle of James, 1 Peter, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, all of which, and in the order named, are assigned to c. 60-70 A.D. They are all shown to be free from Judaistic limitations. Indeed, we are not sure whether Dr Hort makes quite enough of the men of Jewish birth or training among the "Diaspora" churches addressed by James and, as it would seem, by Peter also. We suspect that the traces of "heathen converts" in 1 Peter have been unduly magnified, if we take into account the parallels with the Judæo-Christian Epistle of James. But the point cannot here be argued.

Lecture ix. opens the account of extra-canonical witness to Judaizing Christianity. It deals summarily with "The Church of Jerusalem from Titus to Hadrian," and brings together most happily

<sup>1</sup> Mr F. C. Conybeare's forthcoming work will probably serve to justify this statement. The Therapeutæ were more philosophic in temper than the Essenes, whose system is yet called by Philo *ἡ δίχα περιεργίας Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων φιλοσοφία* (*Opp. prob. lib.* 13), and more deserve to be styled Gnostic Jews (cf. Lightfoot, *Coloss.* p. 91).

matter generally found only πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως; such as the Christianity of Hegesippus, the Episcopal Succession at Jerusalem, the religious position of the Christians at Pella, and that of the Church of the Circumcision at the time of and after the war under Hadrian. Then come two lectures dealing with "The Judaizers of the Ignatian Epistles" and "Cerinthus, 'Barnabas,' Justin Martyr." And finally, the Palestinian history is resumed under the form of Ebionism. Here the true nature of the misused distinction between "Ebionites" and "Nazareans" is laid down with a firm hand (much as in M'Giffert's note on Eus. H. E. iii. 27); and the peculiar Essene Ebionism of the Book of Helxai is traced to the circles whence proceeded, early in the third century, the Clementine Romance (Περὶ ὁδοὶ Ἠέτρου), variously redacted in the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. For the detailed justification of these latter positions we shall eagerly await the special series of lectures on the subject. Meantime, it is enough to have drawn attention to Dr Hort's study of Ebionism, a topic to which the new Sinai Gospels lend a fresh interest.

VERNON BARTLET.

### Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie.

Von Dr Wilhelm Nowack. Erster Band: Privat und Staatsalterthümer. Zweiter Band: Sacralalterthümer. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig, 1894: Akademische Verlagshandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xv. 396, viii. 323. Price M.16.

LAST April I gave an account in the pages of this *Review* of a new work on Hebrew Antiquities by Dr Benzinger based on the latest and best ascertained results of Semitic Archaeology condensed into a compact and handy treatise without sacrifice to freshness or clearness. It now falls to my lot to review in these pages another work on the same theme from the pen of Professor Nowack, published, moreover, by the same firm, though on a larger scale.

The first impression produced upon the reader is the great similarity of plan that characterises both works. Both are not only well illustrated, but in many cases contain identical illustrations. Both are also founded upon the same presuppositions of the Higher Criticism, for the critical standpoint in both is that of Wellhausen. Lastly, a glance at the table of contents exhibits a striking correspondence as to order of treatment and classification of subject-matters. The writer of the later and larger work, Professor Nowack, fully acknowledges this similarity, and confesses also his indebtedness to

the earlier work of Dr Benzinger: "I was, in the summer of last year, just bringing my work to a conclusion when I was informed that Benzinger's treatise was in the press. Through his kindness I have had the opportunity of glancing at the sheets of his book before publication, and have thus availed myself, in my last revision, of Benzinger's admirable pages, and in certain places have made reference to them. Although we have started from the same historico-critical conceptions, and have in this way arrived at the same results, it is to be hoped that my work will not be superfluous in addition to his—indeed, the plan of his outline rendered the employment of a more extensive range of scientific materials impossible."

These words correctly indicate one contrast as we compare these two excellent works. Moreover, Dr Benzinger's considerable experience as a Palestinian explorer gives a special value to all his topographical references, as well as to those which concern climate, fauna and flora, and existing Oriental usages. On the other hand, Dr Nowack's reputation as an Old Testament scholar and critic had long ago (1880) been established in the days when he was Privatdocent in Berlin and produced his learned and interesting commentary on Hosea. Indeed, it is not difficult to see that the studies of that early date have been utilised in the present volume. The useful note on the *טופר* and *הַצִּנְרָה* in his comment on Hosea v. 8. (p. 96 in the commentary) may be compared with the remarks on the same subject in the present work (Vol. i. p. 277). Compare also the notes on Hosea vii. 4 (p. 122) concerning the Hebrew *Tannûr* or "oven" with the instructive and well-illustrated treatment of this topic in the present *Lehrbuch* (Vol. i. p. 144).

It must not be supposed that because Professor Nowack's work is on a much larger scale of execution than that of Dr Benzinger, it is therefore more discursive in treatment. Such an inference would be wholly contrary to fact. An immense mass of information has been accumulated by the most painstaking industry and careful sifting of materials, and finally compressed into these two encyclopædic volumes of Nowack's treatise. In fact, condensation is perhaps a more noticeable feature of the larger than of the smaller treatise. Moreover, the Hebrew student will be thankful for Dr Nowack's scholarly footnotes—*e.g.* for calling attention to some Massoretic textual changes occasioned by religious scruples<sup>1</sup> (Vol. i. p. 12), to a useful summary of the discussion on Ophir and references to literature (Vol. i. p. 248), an apposite reference to Exodus iv. 25 on p. 168, an instructive note on the significance of the Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> See also Benzinger's work, p. 374, on the "terebinths" (plural) of the Massoretic text (Gen. xiii. 18 ; xviii. 1).

הָרָה 'bridegroom' on p. 162 *fol.* In Vol. ii., on Religious institutions, the footnotes become much more frequent and voluminous. See especially those upon pp. 46, 63, 79, 92, 94, 105, 114 (footnote 1), 175, 185 *fol.* ('Azazel), 211 *fol.* as examples out of a large number, where some of the best results of exegetical scholarship or the most ingenious hypotheses are either described or referred to. Such a work as this will save the Hebrew lecturer many an hour of midnight toil in the mechanical search over indexes and tables of contents, for these footnotes are crowded with exact references to the best literature on each subject that is dealt with. It is in this *Second Volume* we notice the most striking contrast in Nowack's treatment as compared with that of Benzinger. For the 130 odd pages devoted by the latter in his much smaller octavo to the subject of *Sacralalterthümer* or Antiquities of Religion, we possess in Nowack's work an entire volume dealing exclusively with this subject, consisting of 315 much larger octavo pages.

The introduction to Vol. i. is excellent. Especially satisfactory are the clearly-marked and well-arranged sections on the sources of information from which Hebrew Archæology is derived. The paragraphs devoted to monuments, graves, inscriptions, coins, etc., are set forth with good judgment and with due proportion. The author, however, appears to lay too little stress in these introductory pages upon the influence of Babylonia on the early life and civilisation of Palestine, and therefore mediately on that of Israel. The lessons taught us by the discoveries at Tell el Amarna and Tell el Hesi would surely dispose an archæologist to reverse the order of the paragraphs *a* and *b* (p. 11). We contend that the influence of Babylonia upon the early civilisation of Palestine, 1500-1400 B.C. and previously, was even deeper than that of Egypt, though Egyptian influence over Phœnicia at this and at a later period was unquestionably strong (see Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 270-277). We certainly do not attempt to set aside the indications which point to Egypt as probably the source from which Canaanite and Israelite alike borrowed circumcision and the alphabet. Viewed in this light, the relation of Canaan to Ham (Gen. x. 6) is not without significance. And yet, when we give full weight to considerations such as these, and to the traditions of very early contact between the Hebrew race and Egypt (Gen. xii. 10 ; xvi. 16 ; xxxix. *fol.*), our surprise is all the greater to find the traces of Egyptian influence over Hebrew institutions and ideas to be so meagre. Even the derivation of the Hebrew ark of the Covenant from Egyptian sources is by no means clear, though Egyptian parallels (ark of Khons, Amon, etc.), may be immediately suggested. On the other hand, the earlier and far deeper influence of Babylonia, to which the author does justice on a subsequent page (p. 98), is

strongly suggested in the pre-exilian Hebrew document J, whose narrative begins Gen. ii. 4b—iv. 26, and is continued at intervals in chapters vi.-xi. As we read these records of early human culture our eyes are continually directed to the Euphrates and Tigris, scarcely ever to the Nile. The historical elements underlying the ancient narrative, Gen. xiv., as well as the references in Joshua vii. 21, Judges iii. 8, only confirm the impression which the recent discoveries in 1887 and 1892 have served to deepen. Respecting Phœnicia, see Pietschmann's work referred to above, pp. 143-147, 260-264.

Where there is so much to commend and admire, criticism seems out of place, and in truth I find little scope for criticism in these pages. Yet it may legitimately be asked whether a somewhat broader basis of comparison might not have been sought in the vast fund of illustrative materials disclosed by Assyriology, and made acceptable to the non-Assyriologist by means of such transcribed texts as Schrader in his *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* and Delitzsch in his *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* have published. It is somewhat strange that Dr Nowack hardly ever quotes from the large and valuable store of epigraphic material accumulated in the *Corpus Inscr. Semit.* Note by way of contrast the constant citation from this work in the pages of Bâthgen's *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Robertson Smith's "Religion of the Semites," and in Driver's unequalled "Notes on the Text of Samuel." It is quite true that Schröder's work on the Phœnician language, with its serviceable store of facsimiles and reproduced texts (published just a quarter of a century ago), is occasionally quoted, and we are thankful for the reference to the term כֶּלֶל in the Marseilles tablet (Vol. ii. p. 215, footnote 2). And it should also be mentioned, in justice to Dr Nowack's treatise, that the works of leading Assyriologists are cited in all the more important cases. Thus, on the subject of the Sabbath and seven-day week, we have an excellent discussion (Vol. ii. pp. 141 *fol.*), and the reader is glad to have the views of Jensen unearthed from the *Sunday-School Times*. The same remark applies to the discussion as to the origin of the Purim festival both in name and rite (pp. 197-200). Similarly, the sections devoted to Measures, Weights, and Alphabet (in Vol. i.) leave little to be desired. This we say in due qualification of the general impression left upon our mind by a perusal of this elaborate and painstaking work of a scholar whose speciality lies in Old Testament Exegesis, and whose relation to the original documents of Semitic Archaeology appears to be rather too indirect, though the references to literature are plentiful. Thus, when we turn to the subject of baking (Vol. i. pp. 111, 118, and 240), and still more when we read the reference to the cakes in

honour of Ashtoreth (כניס Jer. vii. 18) in Vol. ii. p. 309, we are surprised to find no reference to the interesting Phœnician inscription discovered in Cyprus, with its table of expenses for the month Ethanim. Similarly, the function of the Assyrian king as *patesi* (*šakku*) or *šangu* in the very earliest times, might have been usefully cited as a parallel to the priestly functions discharged by Hebrew kings (Vol. i. p. 310). Also on the subject of Slavery, and the usual price paid for a slave, useful hints might have been derived either from Professor Sayce's recent work on "Social Life among the Assyrians," or from Tiele's "History of Babylonia and Assyria," p. 507. A careful search among the Assyrian annals from the fourteenth to the ninth century shews, from the records of captured spoils, that both in Canaan and Syria, and other countries that bordered upon the Ninevite Empire, we are moving during that entire period in the midst of the age of bronze. Iron was comparatively rare, and seems to have been chiefly confined to the head or point of instruments. To what extent the chariots of the Canaanites consisted of iron (Judges i. 19) we cannot tell. Thus we note the considerable quantity of bronze as well as of gold and silver vessels sent by Toi, King of Hamath, to David (2 Sam. viii. 10, 11), and the very interesting parallel in the annals of Tiglath Pileser I. (col. iv. 1 *fol.*). On the other hand, the mention of iron in Assyrian, as in Hebrew literature referring to this period, is extremely infrequent. It is not till the close of the ninth century we read that Rammân-nirâri III. took as spoil 5000 talents of iron from the King of Syria (1 Rawl. 35, No. 1, line 19). These facts might be usefully set forth to illustrate Vol. i. p. 243 *fol.* As coming from a contemporary civilisation and a neighbouring Semitic people, they are of far greater value than the modern institutions of civilised Islam, which are the ultimate product of older civilisations—including Greek, Roman, and Saracenic, to say nothing of the later influences. Here a distinction must be drawn between the usages of peasant life or of the primitive nomadic society of, say, the Sinaitic Bedouin, on the one hand, and those of town life, especially among the wealthier classes in Damascus or Cairo, on the other. The primitive conditions of life among the fellahin, as among the nomads, change as slowly as do the features of the landscape in which they dwell. It is otherwise with the town-civilisation. Therefore, while the illustration of a modern Syrian plough (Vol. i. p. 230) is a fairly safe guide, we deprecate the insertion of the elaborate specimens of modern Arabic bolts and keys (Vol. i. p. 142) which Nowack and Benzinger alike borrow from Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, borrowed in turn by that work from Lane's "Manners

and Customs of the Modern Egyptians." It is curious to note that the numbers conscientiously reproduced in the engravings of Benzinger and Nowack, and scarcely referred to in the text, are adequately elucidated in the original English work. To suppose that the key that opened Eglon's chamber nearly resembled the elaborate contrivance portrayed in Lane's pages makes too great a demand upon our faith. It is probable that the simpler *clavis laconica* figured in the pages of Rich's "Antiquities" would be a safer guide.

On the subject of pottery (Vol. i. p. 265 *fol.*) we have an excellent section in which the researches of Perrot and Chipiez, as well as of Flinders Petrie (in his recent work "Tell el Hesi"), are turned to full account (as in Benzinger's treatise). In this book, which is remarkably free from misprints, we notice a bad typographical error in the English citation on p. 265, footnote 2, Vol. i.; also on p. 319 the Hebrew word מִשְׁפָּטִים is misprinted in the initial consonant. See also Vol. ii. p. 301, footnote 2.

Before passing from Vol. i. we would call attention to the excellent paragraphs devoted to the political institutions of Israel (pp. 300-357), and to the carefully drawn historic perspective in which the whole subject is presented in successive sections—viz., the constitution of the pre-regal period, of the regal period, and of the post-exilian times. This last section is specially useful.

On religious institutions, to which a special volume is devoted, there was less scope for original work. For here the labours of an army of writers for the last thirty years have supplied abundant materials. Among these the chief workers have been Baudissin, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, and Robertson Smith. The influence of Stade is perhaps the most conspicuous in the pages of this treatise, as well as in that of Benzinger. This was inevitable. For no History of Israel can be compared with that of Stade, in comprehensiveness of treatment as well as in insight into archaeological problems, displayed in his treatment of the early pre-exilian period of Israel's history. Stade's grasp of his subject in its organic relation to the larger related subjects of primitive culture, as expounded by such writers as Tylor, and of primitive Semitic religion, as illuminated by the researches of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, ensures his work a permanent place among the authorities on the history of Israel. Stade's researches upon the palace and temple of Solomon, based on the textually difficult materials contained in 1 Kings vi. vii., are laid under contribution in the pages of Nowack. We are glad to see that a wholesome scepticism is displayed towards Benzinger's theory of Egyptian influence in the design of Solomon's temple (p. 34). Benzinger's comparison of the plan of the temple of Amon Rê at Karnak

Nowack considers illusory, and rightly holds that Syrian (or Hittite) influence is clearly evidenced in numerous details, especially in the porticoes. The inscriptions of Sargon (Cylind. insc. line 64, Khorsab. 161-2) bear invaluable testimony to the fact that it was from the land of the Hittites (here probably Phœnicia) he borrowed the *bît hîlāni* or "portico." "Hittite" was loosely used in Assyrian inscriptions as a geographical expression meaning Syrian, Phœnician, or Palestinian. The term *bît hîlāni* was evidently Phœnician in origin, and occurs twice upon the cylinder of Ašurbanipal (col. vi. 123; x. 102), in whose reign (seventh century) it was evidently a term in common use among the Assyrians. This is only one among innumerable indications that exist of the surpassing technical skill possessed by this interesting maritime race. Not only were Phœnician ships and sailors employed by the civilised races of Western Asia from the days of Solomon to those of Sennacherib, and, later still, of Xerxes, but Phœnician skilled workmen were the admiration even of the Greeks. Herodotus pays his express tribute to the superior intelligence and capacity of the Phœnicians in his account of the construction of the canal that was cut across Mount Athos: "they showed their skill in this as in other operations" (vii. 23). These considerations dispose us to reject Benzinger's theory respecting Egyptian influence. It is quite possible, however, that there may have been a remote and indirect Egyptian influence operating through Phœnicia. Respecting the early migrations of the Phœnicians and their contact with Lower Egypt, consult Professor Fritz Hommel's *Semiten*, p. 125. Compare also Pietschmann's instructive pages (pp. 270-277).

A very useful Appendix on the Canaanitish cults that were prevalent in Israel concludes the second volume. The list, however, is incomplete. Some reference to 'Ashtar-Cemôsh of the Moabite stone, to Hadad-Rimmon (Zech. xii. 11), and to the Shêdim and Lilith of popular beliefs, should be included in the survey. Did not the Hebrews recognise a male *Asher* similar in character to *Gad*? Respecting *Asherah* (see Vol. ii. p. 19 *fol.*) we do not consider that the sceptical attitude of the writer in presence of the testimony of the *Abd-Ašratum* of the Tell el Amarna tablet, ought to be maintained (p. 307, footnote 2). Among the authorities to which reference is made we are surprised to find no place given to such worthy contributions as Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, and Bâthgen's *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*.

But enough and more than enough of criticism upon small details in a massive work of enormous erudition based upon the most accurate exegetical scholarship and the very best results of critical and historical investigation. Nowack's treatise is and will remain the greatest and best text-book on Hebrew Archaeology.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

**Personality, Human and Divine.**

*Being the Bampton Lectures for the Year 1894. By J. R. Illingworth, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 274. Price, 8s. 6d. nett.*

ALTHOUGH an author is, in many points of view, undoubtedly the best judge of his own work, Mr Illingworth will, perhaps, permit one, at the outset, to take some exception to the too depreciatory statement made in his Preface. "The following Lectures," he says, "make no claim to originality; they are simply an attempt to arrange and summarise what has already been expressed with greater amplitude and fuller authority elsewhere, in the hope of attracting some, whose leisure in these eager days may be limited, to reconsider the important question with which they deal" (p. vii.). It may be said at once that, if Mr Illingworth has his due, this book will attract the attention he desiderates. But, for this very reason, the disclaimer about originality needs interpretation. While it is true that the Bampton Lecturer adds little or nothing to what has already been said by idealists of the Green school, to which he apparently affiliates himself, it is also true that his presentation of the subject under discussion, taken as a whole, is fresh and highly instructive. The importance of plan and method in approaching matters so vital, and so keenly debated, has been fully realised, and the result is as clear and, to some minds, probably as convincing a statement as could be framed. The value of the work centres most of all in its scheme, and this may be taken as an original contribution to the debate. It has the great merit of focussing the points at issue, of fairly presenting the basal conceptions, and of carrying out a constructive and consecutive argument from philosophical premises and from historical observation.

So far as this systematic procedure is concerned, the eight Lectures divide themselves naturally into *five* portions. The *first* contains an account of the gradual growth of man's recognition of his own personality, and furnishes a somewhat exhaustive analysis of the elements constitutive of this very complex conception. Still following what may be called an anthropological method, the *second* traces the evolution of the idea of God's personality to its culmination in the doctrine of the Trinity, and thereafter proceeds to disengage the contents of the idea mainly by consideration of the "proofs" of the being of God. These two sections supply the groundwork of the entire argument, and, as is fitting, one half of the work (Lectures i.-iv.) is devoted to them. In the *third* part, the conceptions of human and divine personality are brought into explicit relation to one another, with the object of showing that knowledge of Deity is conditioned by the possibility

of moral intercourse. That is to say, God and man can hold communion only on condition—if *condition* it be—that both are persons. *Fourthly*, and coming now to the more specifically synthetic or constructive portion of the argument, on the basis of the notion that Deity is personal man inevitably raises the expectation of a revelation. "It is natural that, in proportion to the strength of our belief in a Personal God, we should expect that He would reveal Himself to man; not merely to a favoured few, but to the human race as such. For the desire of self-communication is, as we have seen, an essential function of our own personality; it is part of what we mean by the word; and we cannot conceive a person freely creating persons, except with a view to hold intercourse with them when created" (p. 138). Signs of this expectation are next sought (*a*) in the earliest religious manifestations, which are mainly "prehistoric," and (*b*) in the great pre-Christian religions. Occasion is taken to point out that, in both cases, the Theist has a title to approach the records of the past from a certain point of view. "The Theist, then, is entitled to approach religious history with an initial presumption, provided that he do so with care. He believes in a Personal God, and the need of self-communication is part of what he means by personality. He believes that persons were created that God might hold intercourse with them and they with Him; prayer and its answer being two sides of one spiritual fact. Consequently, he expects to find religion universal from the time that man first was man; and assumes that wherever its human manifestations occur, their divine counterpart must have been present also. This belief does not rest upon history, but upon his analysis of his own personality and religious experience; and he brings it with him, not as a disguised induction, but as an antecedent expectation, to the study of historical facts" (pp. 142-3). The difficulties which this conviction has to encounter in the most primitive religious forms are argued with admirable skill in the sixth Lecture, while the cumulative evidence for revelation is pressed with learning and dignity in the seventh. In the *fifth* and concluding section of the demonstration, it is maintained that the long expectation of mankind, the origins and gradual crystallisation of which have been traced, found final satisfaction in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. The essence of personality as a trinity in unity, the nature of God which personality demands, and the entire course of history from which the elements of the relation between human and divine personality may be gathered, are conjointly adduced as "invincibly strong *a posteriori* evidence of this stupendous event." The author's sobriety, yet warm sincerity, are striking characteristics of the final discourse. What we would submit is, that this method of pre-

senting the argument has all the merits of originality, that it is carried out with a learning and good sense which go far to heighten its persuasive effect, and that, within certain limits, it is hard to deny the cogency of the demonstration. The book will unquestionably add to the reputation of one of the most distinguished of the *Lux Mundi* group.

The historical purpose to which Mr Illingworth has confined himself (*cf.* Preface and page 9), though probably that most suited to his argument and to his occasion, precludes detailed consideration of several important points. The ontological aspect of personality which, after all, is the fundamental one, has been too little emphasised, and at the present juncture, especially in a work likely to be widely read, this is to be regretted. It has recently been held, with extraordinary acuteness, that personality is nothing but an "appearance," a limitation, and cannot therefore be regarded as fundamental either in application to God or to man. It has been urged that those "who insist on what they call 'the personality of God,' are intellectually dishonest. They desire one conclusion, and, to reach it, they argue for another. . . . The Deity, which they want, is of course finite, a person much like themselves, with thoughts and feelings limited and mutable in the process of time." Mr Illingworth's restriction of his outlook mainly to history appears to have precluded him from meeting such contentions. The chief omission from his otherwise admirably planned scheme lies here. The analysis of the basal conception might have been more exhaustive, more distinctly speculative. Of course Mr Illingworth may reply, with perfect justification—first, that he had no such intention; and, second, that within the limits of Christian theology this inquiry was unnecessary. Nevertheless, without any desire to find fault, I think that the general cogency of his argument—and it is cogent—would have found extended application, and would have acquired even further intensity, had he introduced these considerations specifically. Complete as it is, his presentation of the evidence for human and divine personality yet leaves us with a certain sense of helplessness and passive wonder in face of the doctrines that "the self is no doubt the highest form of experience which we have, but, for all that, it is not a true form," or that "whether personality in some eviscerated remnant of sense can be applied to the Absolute is a question intellectually unimportant and practically trifling."

At the same time, the general line—psychological so far as concerns analysis—adopted by the Bampton Lecturer suggests the answer to these ontological problems. A purely intellectual treatment of the universe, such as critical metaphysic gives, so transforms everything we once knew for truth that nothing seems to be any longer

certain; and this perplexity remains, even if our metaphysic conclude with the allegation that all reality is spiritual. So we are left with a notion that religion must somehow supplement morality, but with only the vaguest conception of the object of religion. At this juncture we have no resource but to turn to personality—the ideal unity of the reasonable for a reasonable being—and accept the terms which it dictates. What, then, are these? Personality conditions expectation, or the power of projection into a more really true world than that now realised. It also conditions the forces by whose operation the interval between grasp and reach is diminished. And, more characteristically than either, it conditions the construction of this better world; that is, it is the source of the faith that plans the content of the ideal and mirrors it as realisable in some sense. Now, all this is neither more nor less than another way of saying that personality, so far from being an illusion, rather furnishes the very ground of our judgment of reality, and so far from being limited, rather affords the sole standard whereby a being, constituted like man, can in any degree measure infinity. The criticism which reduces personality to illusion insists that what appears in a setting of relations must be finite, but it forgets that, so far as we can know, the emptiness or fulness of appearances must be determined by personality, and that, accordingly, any judgment of finitude or illusion cannot but be according to a standard of infinity or reality which personality itself supplies.

There is a large infusion of faith in this. The person cannot prove his own infinity, except by being himself, nor can he defend the reality of his ideal world, except by striving to actualise it. Thus faith is of the web of fact for him, because these two vocations—the one practical, the other theoretical—complete his organic activity. Personality, viewed as the principle of connection between the two, acts upon faith, in the sense that, although it is possible to cast doubt upon the finality of the separate parts which are day by day brought piecemeal, as it were, from out the ideal, yet belief in the ultimate reality of the ideal itself cannot be shaken. Personality finds its most eminent exhibition in that faith in an ideal order which is the motive force at once of the extension of knowledge, of progress in morality, and of the deepening of the need for worship. In this way it points also to the one means whereby we can commune with God, and presents the sole analogue under which a being such as Deity can be worthily conceived. History may be a witness to this, or it may not. The truth remains that personality is individual, or complete as man can know completeness, because it can neither be described nor defined; and that it is unique, because in its self-developing activity it reads itself into everything. Hence the analytic of personality would tend to show that it is no true

limitation, but rather that it affords the single way of escape from limitation. Thought without a thinker is impossible, and reality without a person who adjudges it is unmeaning. So reality—the true, like God—the morally whole, is bound up with personality. We ascribe personality to God for reasons identical with those which lead us to condemn a friend's faithlessness as we never do the fall of a chimney-can. There is a shattering of ideals in the one case that has no place in the other. Faith conditions resentment. And in this faith, by which we live from dark to dawn in our changing sphere, we project ourselves into another realm where is no darkness, and where One abides in whom faith ever must have been sight. Thus our ideals speak to us with authority. Our imperfect system, which we call experience, is yet a system, and derives its systematic nature from a perfect whole that we see in part. The former we rule, because we are persons; the latter, we are led to conclude, God informs; both we regard as one in principle. So, the more we lay hold upon our own personality and glean its meaning, the more completely we find ourselves constrained to believe in the personality of God. Mr Illingworth's discussion involves these premises, but, in some of the aspects just noted, he does not explicitly state them. They may, however, be gathered by the way (*cf.* pp. 24, 82, 90, 101, 122, 190, 208). It would have stiffened his contention had he included some such theoretical analysis. He would have vindicated more thoroughly the view which he calls Theistic, and would accordingly have been in a better position to use it as an instrument for interpretation of historical evolution.

One can so unreservedly agree with this work that one is jealous of it, not for critical, but for constructive purposes. And if, at the outset, there be some uncertainty about the basis on which the absoluteness of personality in human experience is to be set, there is no want of crisp statement at the close. "No positive hypothesis can be offered as a substitute for a personal God which is not either an abstraction from personality, and therefore demonstrably unreal, or an abstraction inconsistently personified, and therefore demonstrably untrue" (p. 209). This explicitly states the truth for which we have been contending. Man as man is at once confined within personality, and is free in it alone—for nothing else within his experience voids its own limits and thus directly reveals that which possesses the principle of infinity, as well as foreshadows God Himself.

R. M. WENLEY.

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**Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien.**

*Zweites Heft. Paralleltexte zu Matthæus und Marcus gesammelt und untersucht von Alfred Resch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 456. 1894. Price, M. 14.50.*

THIS is the third volume which Dr Resch has contributed to that remarkably erudite series of works, edited by Drs von Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*. There are other volumes by our author still to follow; and the whole will constitute one stupendous undertaking, to make from ante-Nicene literature an exhaustive collection and incisive comparison of the citations of the sayings of the Lord Jesus. The first volume, entitled "Agrapha," contains on a scale altogether unprecedented an examination of those utterances which, in the writings of the Primitive Church, are ascribed to Jesus; but which are *not* found in the canonical Gospels. The third volume (the one before us) takes up, in order, more than two hundred passages in Matthew and Mark; in each case exhibits in full the "extra-canonical parallel texts" gathered from early church literature; and offers remarks, sometimes lengthy and very valuable, on the points of divergence between the canonical and extra-canonical readings. The second volume, which was reviewed by the present writer in the *Critical Review* for January 1893, is really an introduction to the one before us, and to its companion volume on Luke and John, which is to appear shortly. Dr Resch claims for himself in the treatise before us (page 435), that what Tischendorf specified in 1842 as one great desideratum of New Testament criticism—namely, "the exploration and employment of patristic literature—has, through the present work, received its fulfilment with a completeness hitherto unknown"; and every one who realises the amount of research, at once comprehensive and microscopic, which the production of this volume has involved, will readily concede that the author's claim is in the last degree a modest one. Whatever estimate may be formed as to the value of Dr Resch's comments and favourite theories as they are appended to each group of parallel passages, there can but be one opinion among scholars of all persuasions, that in the collection and clear exhibition of the parallel texts, Dr Resch has rendered a service to scholarship which is simply invaluable.

Though, as we have said, the second volume was designed to be preparatory to the present one, Dr Resch has still found it necessary to devote some fifty pages to matters of introduction. The first two sections of introductory material are devoted to the earliest attesta-

tion to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in the writings of the Fathers; both sections are very exhaustive, but do not call for special comment. The third section treats of "the composition of the εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον." Resch is so far a follower of Weiss as to believe that Mark drew largely on a Semitic primitive Gospel translated into Greek, but there are some points on which the two scholars differ. Resch maintains strongly that this Urevangelium was written in Hebrew; Weiss (as also Nestle) inclines to Aramaic. Resch finds indications of the pre-canonical Gospel throughout the whole of Mark; Weiss maintains that it did not contain the narrative of the Passion and the Crucifixion. From the Matthaean Urevangelium, the Gospel of Mark was evolved by the following process:—(1) Omission of sundry parts—especially of the *sayings* of our Lord; (2) amplification of some passages with historic details; (3) change of form of some of the sayings of Christ; (4) rearrangement of the material as to the sequence of events. This, our author contends, is precisely in accord with the testimony of the presbyter John as preserved by Papias, assuming that it is the pre-canonical Gospel that was in the presbyter's possession. The next introductory section is devoted to "the composition of the εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον," which, in our author's judgment, is built up of *five* component parts. (1) A pre-canonical source for chapters i. and ii.—a Greek document, translated from a Hebrew original. (2) The canonical Mark, which, speaking generally, is taken over into our first Gospel. (3) The *Urevangelium*, from which the author derives the Discourses of our Lord, which it did not fall in with Mark's design to appropriate, though he used the same "source." The chief argument on which Resch relies in support of (2) and (3) is the existence of Doublets (14 in all), *i.e.*, the occurrence twice over of the same "saying" on different occasions; one drawn from Mark, and the other direct from the *Logia*. (4) Bits of tradition as to the events of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, somewhat related to those recorded in the Gospel of Peter, as *e.g.*, xxvii. 3-10, 52-3, 62-6; xxviii. 9-15. (5) The work of a Redactor, to whom we are indebted for the insertion of twelve quotations from the Old Testament. "The hand of the redactor shows itself (*a*) in the fact that in Mark and Luke no trace of these citations is found; (*b*) in the independence which the evangelist [*? redactor*] handles the Hebrew original; and (*c*) in the precise sameness with which these quotations are introduced." In almost every case we have ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθέν. Our author next devotes a few pages to the gospel-fragment from Fajjum, and gives a reconstructed text which seems in some respects an improvement on any hitherto suggested. Then follows a really admirable essay on the recently discovered fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*. The evidence for its

existence in the early church ; the allusions to Docetism in 1 John, Clemens Al., Ignatius, &c. ; and the Elements of Docetism in the Petrine fragment, are displayed with a thoroughness perhaps hitherto unequalled. One may reasonably demur, however, to the inclusion of the clause *Ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετ' ὄξους* among the indications of Docetic colouring, merely on the ground of this phrase being found in the Docetic writing, *Περίοδοι τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστολῶν*. As a matter of fact, the use of "vinegar" for "wine" is found in patristic writings that are quite free from Docetism, and is by no means unusual, as Dr Swete has shown (the Akhmim fragment, p. 8). A brief section giving a cursory glance at theories which differ somewhat from those of our author (including the Aramaic theory of the present writer) brings the learned introduction to a close.

The body of the work is, as we have said, taken up with the citation of passages, parallel to those found in Matthew and Mark, from early Church Literature, including the Apostolic Fathers, the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, and patristic literature generally, down to the end of the third century : and the object which Dr Resch keeps steadily in view throughout the work, in the comments which he appends to the lists of parallel passages, is this—to show that the citations were in most cases made, not from our canonical gospels, but from the pre-canonical Gospel—from one or other of several Greek translations of the primitive *Hebrew* gospel. This document was composed within twenty years of the death of Christ, was in the hands of Paul (either in the original Hebrew, or a Greek translation) before the composition of his first epistle, and is identical with the *Logia* of Matthew mentioned by Papias and others. The so-called *Logia* was, however, in our author's esteem, far from being a collection of "Utterances" of Christ. It contained a large amount of History, and included the account of the Crucifixion. There are many points of affinity between this part of Dr Resch's work and the theory of a primitive Aramaic Gospel, as advocated by me in the *Expositor* and elsewhere. But there are also several points of divergence between us. (1) I have not yet seen sufficient evidence to suppose that the *Logia* contained the account of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. Dr B. Weiss, by an entirely different line of proof, has come to the same conclusion. (2) I seriously question whether Greek translations of the *Logia*, other than what are embedded in the Synoptic Gospels, circulated in the Churches with the freedom Dr Resch presupposes. (3) I hold that the primitive Gospel was composed in Aramaic and *not* Hebrew. Dr Resch does not seem quite so confident on this point as he was two years ago. In the Introduction, which bears evidence of having been written after the body of the work, our

author says (p. 49): "The theory of a Hebrew as distinct from an Aramaic 'Source' seems to have met with much opposition. Yet this question is of subordinate importance, if one will concede a *Semitic* source. And if, through further investigations, the Aramaic should gain the victory over the Hebrew as represented by me, yet I should be content with the consciousness of having brought the question under notice, and nearer to a decision." Then on the following page Dr Resch magnanimously says, with regard to myself, that he hopes I shall not desist from my investigations, but in a new manner undertake them afresh: and he would welcome it with joy if some German scholars would devote themselves to this important subject. As regards myself, I take the opportunity here of assuring Dr Resch and others that nothing is further from my intentions than to desist from my investigations. My silence recently on the subject is due simply to the fact that I have undertaken the study of all the Aramaic portions of the Jerusalem Talmud. (4) My principal point of divergence from Dr Resch is as to his method of proof. I cannot concede that his arguments amount to a demonstration. He depends exclusively on the occurrence of synonymous words in the canonical and extra-canonical texts, and from these he infers that the synonymous indicate translation from a common source, and that source Hebrew. *E.g.* Because in Matt. vii. 6 instead of the verb *ῥηγνύναι*, Theodoret uses *ῥίπτειν*, our author infers that the Greek text in possession of the two has been translated from a Hebrew text which contained the word *רָפַץ*. Similarly we are assured that *πέπρακεν* in Matt. xiii. 46 alongside *ἐπόλησεν* in Cod. D proves an original *מָכַר*; that *βλέπουσιν* in Matt. xviii. 10 = *θεωροῦντες* in the Clementine Homilies = *ὁρῶντας* in Clem. Al. proves the existence of an original Hebrew text containing *רָאָה*; that in Matt. xxv. 41 the presence of *πορεύεσθε*, alongside *ὑπάγετε* in Hippolytus and Justin is traceable to an original *לָכֵךְ*. I venture to think that this kind of evidence, taken alone, *proves nothing at all*; but I have delivered myself at some length on the matter in reviewing the previous volume in the *Critical Review* for January 1893, and therefore forbear to make any further allusion to it.

In the review just mentioned, reference was made to Dr Resch's *criteria* for determining the original evangelic text. With him antiquity of authorship is everything. A neutral text he never so much as mentions. BCS being all post-Nicene productions, are with him of no more value than any other contemporaneous writings. It is the coincidence of Syr-Cu, Vetus Itala, the Diatessaron, and Codex Bezae which, in his regard, fixes the original text infallibly. It can hardly fail to be of interest to New Testament

scholars who have supposed that the Revised Text was as near an approximation to the autographic text as we are likely to possess for a generation, to see what results are arrived at by the application of these principles. We need scarcely refer to cases in which Resch prefers what Westcott and Hort would regard as an inferior reading, adopting it because it has the support of D and Syr-Cu. We will confine ourselves to instances where Resch *adopts readings which have no support whatever in Greek uncial MSS.*, solely on the ground of patristic evidence.

In Matt. v. 17 he reads οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι on the authority of *Didascalia*, *Constitutions*, Eusebius, Macarius, Clem. Al., and Epiphanius. In Matt. x. 17 he adopts the reading of Ignatius: "Be thou wise as the serpent ἐν πᾶσι, and harmless εἰς αἰεί as the dove." In Matt. xi. 29: "I am meek and lowly of heart," Ephr. Syr. and Hermas add a third adjective ἡσυχίος—"at rest." Resch adopts this, and then maintains that the words were originally spoken to the weary disciples on their return from their first mission. In Matt. xv. 22, on the authority of Clementine Homilies, he would insert into the text the name of the Syrophenician woman, Justa. In Mark iv. 35, on the same authority, he would read τὰ μυστήρια for πάντα in the words, "He explained *all things* to his disciples privately." As to Matt. xvi. 27, "He shall render unto every man according to his deeds," several of the writings of the early Church, *Acts of Thomas Constitutions*, Hegesippus, Epiphanius, quote, in conjunction with this passage, the words ὁ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. *Ergo*, they belong to the original text. In Matt. xxvi. 13 the coincidence of Ephraim, the Diatessaron, and Syr., in giving "wherever *my* gospel is preached," is deemed to prove beyond doubt that "*my*" belongs to the original text. And similarly in Matt. xxvii. 25, the coincidence of Tertullian, Ps-Petrus, and Testament of xii. patriarchs in reading ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν, or its equivalent, in preference to ἐφ' ἡμᾶς is deemed sufficient evidence for the originality of the former.

There are other instances in which patristic evidence induces our author to regard *readings extant in all Greek uncials as lacking in originality*, and the insertion of a later redactor. The first case of this sort which we would cite is Matt. xvi. 18: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Here Dr Resch smartly cuts in twain the Gordian knot which generations of theologians have striven to untie, by boldly asserting that the words σὺ εἶ Πέτρος and ταύτῃ are of late insertion. The reasons assigned for this are as follows:—(a) Paul cannot have known of the prerogative thus assigned to Peter, or he would never have spoken of him as "seeming to be a pillar," or "withstood him to the face."

(b) In the entire literature of the second century, the verse, as we have it, is never once quoted. The *argumentum e silentio* is confessedly precarious, but that Justin and the Clementines should nowhere cite a passage so laudatory of Peter is remarkable. (c) The oldest witnesses for the ordinary text are Tertullian and Origen. In the same connection Resch maintains with far less show of evidence that "the word as to the Keys of the Kingdom was originally directed to the Apostles collectively." Our author also contends that Matt. xviii. 17, "If he refuse to hear them, tell it to the Church: and if he refuse to hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican," is not a genuine saying of Christ, but of late insertion. The reasons assigned are, (a) that nowhere in early literature is a *triple* effort at reconciliation alluded to; first, privately, secondly, before one or two witnesses, thirdly, before the Church. Two *νοῦθεσίαι* are often mentioned, but never the third. (b) The *τελῶναι* and the *ἔθνη* are never elsewhere spoken of by our Lord with such disparagement.

Dr Resch's criticism of Matthew's account of the eschatological Discourse in chapter xxiv. may now receive brief mention. He notes that Matthew makes no reference to "the Man of Sin," "the Antichrist," but the malefic portents, and the dire deception which 2 Thess. ii., the Didaché, the Constitutions, Origen, &c., ascribe to one arch-deceiver, Matt. xxiv. 24 ascribes to many *ψευδόχριστοι* and *ψευδοπροφήται*. The conclusion which our author draws is that 2 Thess. ii. &c. correctly represents the primitive gospel, as does also Apoc. xi. *sqq.*, but that the author of the first canonical gospel "generalises," changing the singular into a plural (page 291). The same disposition led him to speak of *two* blind men in chapter ix. 28 (peculiar to Matt.) whereas Aphraates only speaks of *one*; of *two* demoniacs, viii. 28; of *two* blind men, xx. 30; and of *two* asses, xxi. 2, where the other Synoptists do but speak of *one*.

A very important and valuable part of Dr Resch's work consists in the connection he traces between Paul and the Synoptic Gospels. There is a general agreement amongst scholars that our canonical gospels were written *after* Paul's Epistles, and that consequently Paul was not much indebted to the Sayings of Jesus; indeed, several German scholars have maintained that in some cases the originality lies with Paul, and that the Gospels are "coloured" from Paul's writings. Dr Resch admits the late origin of our present Gospels, but contends that there was a pre-canonical Gospel, translated into Greek, and that of this Paul was a diligent student. (This position was maintained by me in a fugitive paper in the *Expositor* for July 1890.) We will now place some of the cases before the reader in which Resch claims that Paul manifests acquaintance with Christ's sayings, and leave him to judge of their

cogency. In Matt. xi. 29, "I am meek and lowly of heart," having settled from Hermas that there were originally *three* adjectives here (see above), Resch finds confirmation of this in 2 Cor. x. 1, *πραῦτητος καὶ ἐπιεικέως ὅς . . . ταπεινός*; as well as in James iii. 17, *εἰρηνική, ἐπιεικής, εὐπειθής*. In Mark iv. 27 (. . .), Resch questions whether Mark has preserved the correct form of the Logion ("So is the Kingdom of God as a man who cast seed on the earth and sleeps and rises night and day"). It is highly probable, we are told, that the original words were "The Kingdom of God is as seed which a man cast on the earth, and it sleeps (*i.e.* decays) and rises, and grows night and day." So modified it is equivalent to, if not identical with, John xii. 24, and is the source of 1 Cor. xv. 36, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die." Much more self-evident is the derivation of *θησαυροὶ ἀπόκρυφοί* in Col. ii. 3 from the *θησαυρὸς ἀποκεκρυμμένος ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ* of Matt. xiii. 44, and of Titus i. 15 from Matt. xv. 18 = Mark vii. 20. Dr Resch is also of opinion that the long list of vices in Mark vii. 21 is the source of the similar lists in Gal. v. 21, Eph. v. 5, and 1 Cor. vi. 9, especially as in connection with each one of these lists we have the synoptic phrase, "inheriting the Kingdom of God." He also traces Paul's words (Rom. i. 16) "to the Jew *first*," to Christ's saying, "Let the children *first* be filled," and with much more probability, he recognises in Gal. i. 16, "When it pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me . . . I conferred not with flesh and blood," an echo of Matt. xvi. 11, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven." The reference in 2 Cor. x. 8, *ἐξουσία εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ εἰς καθάρεισιν* to Matt. xvi. 19, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, &c.," is indisputable, and almost equally probable is the connection between Mark ix. 49, "Every one is salted by fire," and 1 Cor. iii. 13, "The fire shall prove every man's work." Dr Resch occupies firm ground in maintaining that Paul's words "Ye being gathered together in the name of the Lord Jesus . . . with the power of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. v. 4) reveal a familiarity with Christ's promise, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in their midst" (Matt. xviii. 20): and equally so when he insists that Paul's injunction forbidding divorce, 1 Cor. vii. 10, is based on Matt. xix. 6. But it can only injure a good cause to maintain that the phrase Gal. vi. 17, *κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω* shows Paul's acquaintance with Matt. xx. 13, where Syr. Cur. reads: "Friend, do not trouble me," which in Baethgen's reconstructed text is *ἐταίρε, μὴ μοι κόπους παρέχε*. Of quite another character is the evidence given for Paul's familiarity with Christ's eschatological Discourse in Matt. xxiv. 30, 31. The reappearance of Christ, the accompaniment of the angels, the sound of the trumpet, the

gathering of the elect, all find repeated mention in Paul's writings, especially in 1 Cor. xv. and 1 Thess. iv.

I have left myself too little space to dwell at length on what is perhaps the most valuable piece of work in the whole volume. I refer to Dr Resch's treatment of the trinitarian baptismal formula in Matthew xxviii. 19: "Baptising them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." It seems to be regarded as an axiom in some theological circles that these cannot be the literal words of the Lord Jesus, but are "a comparatively late product of the dogmatic development of the Church." In rebutting this position, Dr Resch gives us fourteen pages of quotations from very early Christian literature, orthodox and heretical, showing the universal use of this formula. The arguments which our author then adduces in favour of the genuineness of the Logion are in brief these: (1) In the ministry of John the Baptist the trinitarian conception is discernible. "God (ὁ θεός) is able from these stones," &c. "He that cometh after me is mightier than I." "He shall baptise you in the Holy Spirit." (2) The trinitarian parallels in Apostolic writings. The examination of these is reserved for a prospective work, *Canonische Evangelienparallelen in den apostolischen Lehrschriften*. (3) Quotations from the oldest patristic literature, beginning with Clement of Rome, who has three palpably trinitarian passages, of which one is, "We have one God and one Christ and one Spirit of Grace who was shed upon us." Ignatius has four passages equally explicit. Then comes the *Didaché*, which gives us the earliest citation of the baptismal formula outside the Canon, "Baptise ye into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in running water (ἐν ῥοατὶ ζῶντι)." Aristides and Justin are then quoted, and many others. Dr Resch is particularly impressed by the unique formula contained in the *Constitutions*, v. 7—

λαβόντες ἐντολὴν . . . βαπτίσαι  
εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον  
ἐπὶ αὐθεντία τοῦ θεοῦ ὅλαν ὃς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ πατήρ  
καὶ μαρτυρίᾳ πνεύματος, ὃς ἐστὶ παράκλητος.

Our author is of opinion that the words εἰς τὸν τοῦ κυρίου θάνατον go back to an utterance of Jesus Himself. (4) The most striking proof of the veritable authenticity of the words is the prevalence of the trinitarian baptismal formula amongst all heretical sects—even amongst sects whose tenets were not in accord with its implied teaching. This, Dr Resch rightly thinks, shows *am allerfrappantesten* how deeply the trinitarian confession of faith is rooted in primitive Christianity. For example, among the Jewish Christians, where a unitarian rather than a trinitarian conception of God is

discernible, as in the so-called Clementine Homilies, the trinitarian baptismal formula nevertheless was in constant use. The tendency of doctrine among them was foreign, nay hostile, to Trinitarianism, but the "trina invocatio" was too venerable to be dispensed with. Similarly, in the Gnostic systems, the Triad of Matthew xxviii. 19 plays an important part; and even the perverse Gnostics used the trinitarian baptismal formula for their sacrament of initiation, "manifestly only in order that they might not altogether lose connection with the common consciousness of the Church and the right to the Christian name." Monarchianism, Montanism, Manichæism, however hostile they were to the trinitarian conception of God, never repudiated the baptismal formula; and this could only be because it had existed from the beginning. No one could assign a moment in the development of the Church when this tradition did not exist. It was the bond of union between all who claimed the Christian name; the one thing which, amid a thousand divergences of creed and practice, never changed; the one thing *common* among all so-called Christians, orthodox and heretics alike.

Having passed the work thoroughly in review, it will be seen that it has its strong points as well as its weaker ones. Notwithstanding one or two very precarious theories, of constant recurrence, and some doubtful arguments, it is a book which will long be indispensable to the student of Textual Criticism and Ecclesiastical History.

J. T. MARSHALL.

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### Lectures on Human and Animal Psychology.

*By Wilhelm Wundt. Translated from the second German edition by J. E. Creighton and E. B. Titchener. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. x. 434. Price, 15s.*

THE appearance of an English translation of Wundt's "Lectures on Psychology" may be read both as a sign and as a result of the increased attention which, of late years, has been given to psychological enquiry. In our own country and in America, there has been a most strenuous attempt to define the sphere of psychology, and to solve its problems. We need refer only to such works as those of Professors James, Ladd, and Bowne, published in America; to the works of Sully, Bain, and Ward, at home; and to the numerous articles in *Mind*, and in the various publications of societies, to show that psychology was never more keenly studied than at the present moment. Without further reference to psychological study as a whole, let us look at Wundt's book, for it is a book with which we have to reckon.

Wundt's aim is to derive every mental process from some other mental process ; to derive the most complex from the less complex, and the less complex from the simpler, and to discover the mental laws of this interconnection. He starts with the simplest elements of mental life, and from these he seeks to build up the whole structure. It may be, in fact, Wundt thinks, that the simplest elements are themselves complex, and that sensations are really compounds built up out of unconscious elements. These, however, so far, elude analysis, and he begins with sensations which manifest themselves in consciousness. The first step is the explanation and defence of Weber's law as modified and extended by Fechner, and this may be regarded as the basis of Wundt's psychological theory. Having shown Weber's law, as he contends, "to be a mathematical expression of the principle of relativity of mental states," he proceeds to refer the "ideational connection in sense perception and spatial connection of memorial images" (in other words, space and time) "to the laws of association." The laws of association are connection by likeness and connection by contiguity, and by the application of these two principles Wundt says he has built up out of sensation the various processes and products of our mental life. The feelings, too, take their place, under the guidance of the same laws, "as terms in a developmental series, extending from the simplest forms of impulse to the most complicated expressions of self-initiated, voluntary activity." Thus Wundt claims to explain the process by which thoughts, feelings, volitions, in their most complex and highly-developed articulation, have been built up out of simple sensations.

As we read these thirty lectures, and turn from problem to problem, each of which has occupied the thought of successive generations of thinkers, we are struck with the seeming simplicity of each problem as stated by Wundt, and the fascinating ease with which the solution is set forth. It was a difficulty with many thinkers to conceive of the connection between physical processes in the brain and mental processes. How is this to be expressed? The answer of Wundt is easy if only we can understand it. "The connection can only be regarded as a *parallelism* of two causal series existing side by side, but never directly interfering with each other in virtue of the incomparability of their terms." The two processes are somehow co-ordinated with one another, but we are not to think, says our author, of the one as the cause of the other. Thus we are left by Wundt in the presence of a hopeless dualism.

Again, some philosophers have stated that it is hopeless to conceive of a mental life without a subject whose life and experience it is. We have strong statements to this effect from the Hegelians ; and others than Hegelians have seen that without reference to a

self experience is not possible. We are familiar with the phrase "self-consciousness is the highest category," and it is really difficult to see how we are to get on without it in our psychological enquiries. We are familiar, also, with the attempts which have been made in order to explain the genesis of a "self," and to show how this illusion has grown up. But every such attempt is wrecked on the fact that we cannot even state a possible process without presupposing the activity of the self, and the reference to the self, the existence of which we profess to explain. In this respect Wundt is no more successful than some of our English psychologists have been. Some of his statements are indeed amusing. "The self," he tells us, "is nothing more than the way in which ideas and other mental states are connected together, since, further, the manner of this connection at any particular moment is conditioned by preceding mental events, we tend to include under the term 'self' the whole circle of effects which have their causes in former experiences. The 'self' is regarded as a total force, which determines particular events as they happen, unless, of course, they are occasioned by the action of external impressions, or of those internal processes which we experience just as passively as we do the external. And, since the principal effect of the preconditions of consciousness is the determination of the appearance and degree of clearness of ideas, we further bring the 'self' into the very closest connection with the process of apperception. The self is the subject which we supply for the apperceptive activity," pp. 230-31. "The self is nothing more than the way in which ideas and other mental processes are connected together." There is, at least, this more, that we are aware of the fact that our mental processes hold together. The process is aware of itself as a process. We notice, also, that in the foregoing quotation, the word "we" is used more than once. What is the "we" in the sentence "the self is the subject which *we* supply for the apperceptive activity?" Wundt seems to restore by the use of "we" those characteristics which he denies to the "self."

Something ought to be said on Weber's law, but instead of criticising the law and the use of it made by Wundt, we shall give the estimate of it formed by Professors Bowne and James. Professor Bowne says:—"Fechner's formula taken absolutely leads to psychological nonsense. Mathematically expressed it would read— $S = K \log E$  when  $k$  is a constant and  $E$  is the stimulus. Hence for  $E = 1$  we should have  $S = K \log E = 0$  and for  $E < 1$  we should have  $S =$  a minus quantity; and finally, for  $E = 0$  we should have  $S = -\infty$ . That is, for the unit of sensation we should have no sensation; for anything less than this we should have negative sensations; and finally, for zero stimulus we should have an infinite negative sensation. That is, in the name of a mathematical formula psychology

is weighed down with a meaningless absurdity.”—"Bowne's Introduction to Psychological Theory," New York, pp. 52-3. Professor James having shown that Weber's law is probably purely physiological, thus proceeds—"It is surely in some such way as this that Weber's law ought to be interpreted, if it ever is. The Fechnerian *Maassformel* and the conception of it as an ultimate 'psychophysical law' will remain 'an idol of the den,' if ever there was one. Fechner himself indeed was a German *Gelehrter* of the ideal type, at once simple and shrewd, a mystic and an experimentalist, homely and daring, and as loyal to facts as to his theories. But it would be terrible if even such a dear old man as this could saddle our science for ever with his patient whimsies, and, in a world so full of more nutritious objects of attention, compel all future students to plough through the difficulties not only of his own works, but of the still drier ones written in his refutation. Those who desire this dreadful literature can find it; it has a 'disciplinary value,' but I will not even enumerate it in a footnote. The only amusing part of it is that Fechner's critics should always feel bound, after smiting his theories hip and thigh, and leaving not a stick of them standing, to wind up by saying that nevertheless to him belongs the *imperishable glory* of first formulating them, and thereby turning psychology into an exact science."—*The Principles of Psychology*, by William James, Vol. I. p. 549.

JAMES IVERACH.

### The Theory of Inference.

*By the Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. 256. Price, 10s. 6d.*

MR HUGHES has already written two volumes on "Natural and Supernatural Morals," which have been received with favour and approval. In pursuing his investigations into religion and morals, and into Nature and the supernatural, Mr Hughes has been led to think of the "theory of inference" as it has been expounded by writers on logical method. He has come to the conclusion that this "exposition has grave defects." He has written this volume to set forth these defects, and to show what the true theory of inference is. In addition to what is known as the methods of Induction and Deduction, he proposes the method which he calls "delation and illation." As the former method proceeds on the principle of the uniformity of nature, the latter proceeds on the principle of the continuity of nature. The former deals mainly with nature, the latter with history. "Delation is a recognition of the fact that there is continuity in nature. It consists in

arriving at knowledge of an event by means of the consideration that it must, in respect of the time and manner of its experience, maintain the traditions of past experience." Illation is the discovery of a cause or an effect by means of associating with the phenomenon a number of other facts, and formulating some event which explains them all in congruity with past experience.

We have read the book with care, and are persuaded that Mr Hughes has so far made good his case. He has succeeded in pointing out a grave defect in logical method. His criticism of John Stuart Mill's logic, and specially of the Mills' "four methods," is unanswerable. But we are not sure that his own method is good, or that he has been able to remove the defect he has pointed out. We are not sure that his distinction between the "uniformity of nature" and "continuity in nature" can be maintained. Is it possible to conceive a uniformity which is not continuous, or a continuity which is not uniform? Is not uniformity often put in these forms, "our expectation of the constancy of Nature," "our expectation that the future will resemble the past"? And if this be legitimate, the uniformity of nature implies its continuity. Other remarks of a similar kind might be made. We do not indeed see the necessity of bringing into logical method two new processes, nor need we burden ourselves with these two new names. The same end may be accomplished by a more ample recognition of the two-fold process of science. Alongside of the description of the process by which we are enabled to rise from one law to another until we arrive at the widest possible generalisation, we have to place the description of the process by which we recognise differences until we come at last to that particular scientific act by which we recognise what makes a thing a thing. Both processes are illustrated in any competent scientific text-book; though in works which describe logical method in general, the later process has dropped out of sight. This also seems to us to be what Mr Hughes has mainly in view. But his addition to our logical method does not seem to us to supply what is needed in order to remove the defect.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **Völter's Problem der Apokalypse.**

*Das Problem der Apokalypse. Von Dr Daniel Voelter, Professor an der Universität Amsterdam. Freiburg im Breisgau. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. viii. 528. Price, M.10.*

THIS work, even if it settles but few of the many questions it discusses, will for some time to come be an invaluable companion to those who take in hand the criticism or exegesis of the Apokalypse. In the history of this immemorially arduous task, the work

of the last twelve years certainly marks an important epoch. For a generation or more previously the traditional date, which had been accepted since the utterance of Irenaeus on the subject, had been set aside in favour of internal evidence which, to the majority of critics of very opposite schools, appeared to fix the book within a very few years of the death of Nero, and prior to A.D. 70.

As the earliest Christian document outside the Pauline writings the date of which was common ground between scholars of conflicting views on most other points, the Apocalypse was agreed to be a priceless monument of early Jewish Christendom, in its transition form doubtless, and transplanted both locally and mentally from its Palestinian soil, but none the less fundamentally important as historical evidence for an obscure factor in the history of the Apostolic age.

The Neronian date of the Apocalypse fairly held the field, while yet the early tradition for a later date remained unaccounted for.

Since 1882 all has changed: the hypothesis either of a composite origin, or of successive editions of the Apocalypse, hinted at by earlier critics (Grotius, Schleiermacher, Schwegler, and others) has taken definite form, and challenges investigation as a preliminary to any use of the Apocalypse as historical evidence, or the adoption of any clue to its interpretation.

It was Dr Völter, in his work *Die Entstehung der Apokalypse* (1882, second ed. 1889), who first formulated the problem on its existing basis. He came forward with an hypothesis which in the work before us has been further elaborated, but which in its broad outlines remains unchanged. A Christian Apocalypse, comprising about four-sevenths of the present Apocalypse, and contained in cc. iv.-xix., was written, quite possibly by the Apostle John, in Palestine somewhere near the year 62. Just after the death of Nero, its author made some additions,—the *βιβλαρίδιον*, x. 9, 10,—consisting roughly of chapters x., xi., xvii., and xviii., with a few verses elsewhere. This enlarged Apocalypse, written possibly in Aramaic, was brought to Asia Minor by a person, very probably [?] Cerinthus, who during the reign of Titus subjected it to a recension; his main additions are xii. 1-10, and xix. 11—xxi. 8, with the exception of a few verses and the addition of a few more. Under Domitian a second editor inserted xiii. and other passages, embodying a vehement protest against the worship of the emperors. A third recension under Trajan, “universalist” and monarchian in its spirit, is responsible for vi. 16 (“the wrath of the Lamb”), and a number of other small but very homogeneous additions. Last of all, the lingering reluctance of the Asian Churches to accept the Revelation was overcome by a final editor, who during the reign of Hadrian added the letters to the Seven Churches, the reference

to Patmos, the most remarkable references to the *πνεῦμα*, and the highest Christology of the book (Α and Ω, the Λόγος in xix., &c.).

Assuming the legitimacy of the problem, it must be said that Dr Völter's solution of it outruns all possibility of certain knowledge. Such a detailed analysis as his must remain in the region of hypothesis: but perhaps it is a good thing that hypothesis should be presented in as clear-cut a form as possible, and this Dr Völter has certainly done. But the interval between his first essay and the present volume has seen many contributions to the problem, and, with the partial exception of Erbes (1891), Völter can scarcely boast of a solitary supporter of his own scheme. The best-known rival is Vischer, as to whose attempt (1886) readers of this review need no information. It may be here useful to register the broad divisions of opinion. Of the ten or more scholars who accept the general idea that the Apocalypse is a composite work, Völter and Erbes, and, in so far as he entertains the possibility at all, Mr G. A. Simcox (p. 234), are the only defenders of its exclusively Christian origin. The rest assume a Jewish, non-Christian element. To Vischer and Pfeiderer, and, with modifications, to Weyland, the Christian element has been grafted on a Jewish original. On the other hand, Sabatier (*Origines littéraires de l'Apoc. de St Jean*, 1887), Weizsäcker, Schön, and Spitta (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes untersucht*, 1889) assume in common a Christian original, amplified from independent and perhaps earlier Jewish sources. To enter into the details of this maze of hypotheses, or to follow Dr Völter through his elaborate discussion of them, is, of course, outside the scope of this notice. His plan, which makes the book as heavy reading as it is useful for reference, is to go through the Apocalypse section by section, first giving an abstract of the contents; then an account of the treatment of the section by the several critics; lastly, his own construction. The book would certainly have gained in effectiveness by a less exhaustive and cumbrous treatment, but Dr Völter has preferred completeness, and has gained it at some expense of nerve and "go." The most readable and interesting section is the last (pp. 447-528), where he gathers up the results, going through each of his six strata in turn, discussing the purpose, character, and homogeneity of each, and estimating their respective relations to the Old Testament, both Hebrew Text and Greek Versions (a most important matter), and to the other New Testament books, as well as to extra-canonical apocalypses.

I have aimed at putting fairly before the readers of this review the leading features of Dr Völter's book; to give a more definite idea of it without an inordinate amount of detailed discussion is not easy. I must content myself with giving general impressions on a few detached points. The book is ably written, and the dis-

cussions of individual points are often sober and convincing (*e.g.*, pp. 82, 83, 429, &c.). In particular, his strictures on Vischer's method appear reasonable. In a work which in its present form is Christian through and through, it is surely the right method to ask, not whether this or that section can have been originally Jewish, but can it not have been written by a Christian? I can see nothing (not even *cc. xi., xii.*) in Vischer's original Jewish document which is intractable to the latter test. But Völter appears to greater advantage in criticising the systems of others than in working out his own. It creates an uneasy feeling to find our author setting aside inconvenient evidence by airy assumptions of interpolation, even where any shadow of documentary evidence is lacking. When we find his plausible analysis of the Apocalypse keeping company with the abjudication of 1 Cor. xi. from St Paul (*p. 438*), with the assumption of interpolations at Gal. iv. 26, 1 Cor. xv. 25-28, and, to say nothing of Philippians and Colossians, with the bringing down of 1 Thessalonians to the time of Hadrian (*p. 520*) or later, we are rudely reminded that what rank as *verisimilia* in Holland are not always what we should describe by that name. A number of passages, again (*e.g.*, pp. 168, 29, 40, 58, 207, 404), involve assumptions with regard to the relations of the Imperial Power to Christianity in the first century which require reconsideration in view of recent discussion on the subject. I miss in Dr Völter's discussion of the references to persecution of Christians any adequate appreciation of the present phase of the historical question as affected by the researches of Mommsen, Neumann, and Ramsay.

On the whole the proper attitude toward the results submitted to us in the present book would seem to be one of reserve. The ingenuity and fair-mindedness with which the system is argued out step by step does not overcome one's sense of one-sidedness and readiness to adopt precarious assumptions on the writer's part. That the question must be studied with full recognition of "Apocalypse" as a characteristic form of Jewish literature,—that our Apocalypse is one of a class, although as a vehicle of religious thought and feeling very far above its class, will be generally allowed. That both the book itself (*i. 1, 3; xxii. 6*) and the analogy of prophecy, to say nothing of reasonable principles of historical exegesis, postulate the closest correlation of the book to the history of its age, and that this correlation wherever identifiable is a certain guide to the date of the book as a whole and of its several parts, is to the present reviewer an elementary axiom. Accordingly, if cogent grounds demand a composite origin for the Apocalypse, well and good. But so many of the historical references appear still to leave room for doubt, and the purely internal tests of recension seem so

open to other interpretations, that I think sober and unprejudiced scholarship will for mere prudence sake continue to treat the Apocalypse as a homogeneous work until criticism has reached a more final result. Dr Völter's surest tests of "Bearbeitung" are apparently the passages characteristic of the penultimate revision, marked by the correlation of a high Christology with a religious cosmopolitanism contrasting strongly with the strictly Jewish-Christian horizon of the older strata (p. 87). The passages are, among others, v. 6<sup>b</sup>, 9<sup>b</sup>, 11-14; vi. 16<sup>c</sup> ("the wrath of the Lamb"); vii. 9-17; and the main ground relied on for their segregation is the adoration of the Lamb, and his close identification with God. It is true that the assignment of the passages in question to a separate recension was not part of Völter's hypothesis in its original form; but he has all along regarded them as manifest interpolations. But his test will scarcely satisfy any but those who take the Ebionism of the original apostles for granted, and in any case imports a subjective element into the whole basis of the construction. Without at all disputing the possibility of some facts in the composition of the Apocalypse which may do justice to the internal grounds for an early and the external tradition of a late date, I read Völter's pages, like those of Vischer, with interest rather than with conviction. It may be worth while to mention one or two points of interest bearing on questions of detail. The four horses of ch. vi. correspond to calamities in the latter part of Nero's reign, beginning with a defeat of the Romans under Paetus by Vologeses I. in 62. The rider on the white horse is accordingly not to be understood of Christ as in xix. 11, which verse Völter ascribes to a later hand. The martyrs of ch. vi. are those of the year 64. The sixth emperor of xvii. 10 is Galba, the beast who was one of the six and is to come back as the eighth being of course Nero. Verses 16, 17, an interpolation of uncertain date, reflect a popular belief that on his return Nero would take vengeance on the Imperial city. The Woman clothed with the Sun, whose glories Völter is tempted to explain with Dietrich (*Abraxas*, 1891) from the Greek myth of Leto (p. 168), is part of the third stratum or "first recension," where Völter suspects the hand of Cerinthus. The difficult Messianic chapter xii. is explained by reference to the theology of Cerinthus, as also is the section xix. 11-xxi. 8, which Völter regards as the direct continuation of xii. 1-10. He insists, as he is perfectly entitled to do, on the testimony of Caius and the "Alogi" connecting Cerinthus with the Apocalypse. But in selecting these particular passages as Cerinthian in their Christology he challenges a jealous scrutiny of the grounds for a conclusion so repellent to ordinary Christian prepossessions.

The war of the beast (xii. 17) against the seed of the woman

is the persecution of Christians by Domitian, with whom also, viewed as a re-appearance of Nero, the beast of c. xiii. is identified, the ten crowned horns being the emperors from Augustus to Titus, who are also reckoned, omitting Galba Otho and Vitellius, as seven heads. The second Beast or false prophet who speaks like the Dragon is the provincial governor enforcing the worship of the emperor. But the number of the Beast (vv. 18, &c.) is the later interpolation of some one who now saw in Hadrian the dreaded *Nero redivivus*. In this way Völter combines the convincing "gematria" נרן קסר with a reference to Hadrian, whose name "Trajanus Hadrianus" can also be so transliterated into Hebrew as to give the requisite numerical total. Passing to the reign of Hadrian, we find the indications of date somewhat closely bound up with a surely belated view of the date of the Ignatian letters (which Völter has elsewhere maintained to be not earlier than 150), and with a kindred view of the date of the Episcopate. The highest Christology of the book is also thought to suggest a date little earlier than this. That Christians at Thyatira are dallying with the oracle of the Sibyl is a sign of the period when prophecy began to be missed within the Churches. "The Nicolaitans" is a name for the Carpocratians or Basilidians. One would scarcely expect the late date thus ascribed to chapters i.-iii. to be reconcileable with the old Tübingen assumption of their anti-Pauline spirit. But this is, ingeniously enough, still maintained. Their repudiation, *e.g.*, of St Paul is alluded to in the  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\alpha \epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha$  of the Ephesian Church, and the Epistles are meant to revive the cooling anti-Pauline fervour of the Asian Christians.

Enough has perhaps been said to show the great importance of this book for all students of the Apocalypse, and at the same time to justify the reviewer's attitude of reserve toward its results. The writer appears somewhat deficient in his appreciation of the Apocalypse as an embodiment of stirring religious teaching and heart-searching appeals to the Christian conscience. He treats it rather as a student of the theory of sound might analyse an exquisite symphony, or a practical drawing-master a "Pietà" by a quattrocento master. In an Apocalypse the canons of strict logical arrangement are applicable only with more than ordinary tact and tenderness. Still, his problem is critical and historical, and even if we often miss the balance and sustained sobriety of the very best historical criticism, we cordially recognise in Dr Völter's book an honest and careful piece of work, that will not fail in its purpose of contributing to the ultimate ascertainment of historical truth.

A. ROBERTSON.

**A Study of Ethical Principles.**

*By James Seth, M.A. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1894. 8vo, pp. 468. Price, 10s. 6d. net.*

THIS "Study" is by a new writer in the field of Ethical Philosophy. The author prefaces it with the remark that it does not "claim to be, in any strict sense, an original treatment" of the questions dealt with, but in this he is perhaps over-modest. He has supplied a gap in philosophical literature by elaborating a point of view which, while probably gaining ground in English thought steadily, has nowhere else been presented so fully or in relation to the various matters of prime importance in the ethical department, and in one respect at least—in respect, viz., to those further implications of morality which serve to connect man's nature with God and Immortality—he has shown a speculative courage and strenuousness which too many of his fellow-workers lack.

The work consists of three "Parts" and an "Introduction." The latter deals with such preliminary matters as the Problem, Method, and Psychological Basis of Ethics, and is notable chiefly for its insistence, under the second of these heads, on the position that mere scientific categories, of whatever kind, are entirely inadequate in this department, being useful up to a certain point no doubt, but allowing what after all is the *differentia* of the moral life to escape investigation. The key-note of the book may be said to be struck here. With Part I., on "the Moral Ideal," the work proper begins. In the earlier sections we have a criticism first of the Hedonist, then of the "Rigorist" (or Rational) Ideal, the fundamental objection taken to these being that they are based alike upon an abstract view of human nature. Man is neither mere Sensibility nor mere Reason, and the Ethic founded on either view cannot but lead to various inconsistencies with the facts of moral experience, which are here indicated. For himself the writer founds on "that total human Personality which contains as elements Reason and Sensibility" both (p. 192). In other words, the formula he proposes is neither Self-gratification nor Self-denial, but Self-realisation, in which "the several changing desires, instead of being allowed to pursue their several ways, and to seek each its own good and satisfaction, are so correlated and organised that each becomes instrumental to the fuller and truer life of the rational human self" (p. 206). To the view thus described Professor Seth gives the name Eudæmonism ("the feeling of the whole self being taken into account, as opposed to the feeling of some one aspect of self," p. 216), a term which he is anxious to rescue from all merely Hedonistic associations and to preserve in its true Aristotelian sense.

Passing next in Part II. to the consideration of "the Moral

Life," our author deals with the various conditions or phases of the self-fulfilment effected in moral experience, that is to say, with the Virtues. Only the broad outline of this part of the subject is sketched, however. Taking the natural division of the Moral Life into Individual and Social, the characteristic virtues of the former are found to lie in Temperance (negatively as self-denial, positively as self-limitation) and Self-development, those of the latter in Justice and Benevolence. In the following section the Organisation of Society is dealt with and its fundamentally ethical nature finely shewn. The State in particular, it is argued, is, in idea at least, only the outward expression and embodiment on the large scale of that higher nature which forms the sovereign element in the individual moral life, and from this point of view such questions are dealt with as the limitations of Rights in Property, the doctrine of Non-Resistance, and the nature of Civil Punishment. In all such matters, it is maintained, it is the interests of Moral Personality alone that fall to be considered and no results less sacred in themselves or more remote.

Finally, in Part III., "the Metaphysical Implications of Morality" are discussed, and here the author rises to the height of his argument. If it is "not easy, humanly speaking, to wind up an Englishman to the level of dogma," how much harder is it to wind up your common English moralist? But Professor Seth has the courage of his convictions. As he says, even the evolutionary moralist, in correlating man with nature and seeking to demonstrate *so* the unity of the universe, is guilty of metaphysics of a kind, and for himself he lends his best strength to making good those (Theistic and other) conclusions that follow from the assertion of the supernatural being of man. Accordingly, he begins with Freedom, vindicating it not only on the side of Naturalism, but also, and even more earnestly, as though from this side the danger were greater, from the tendency of an Absolute Idealism to sublate human life, with all the variety of its moral experience, into a passing mode of the life of God. Man being thus left as a free spiritual being over against Nature, confronting her and often at war with her, the necessity next arises, it is argued, for the assertion of a Supreme Goodness governing all things with a view to moral ends. "Nature is really blind, indifferent, capricious. Force is unethical. Hence the call for a Supreme Power akin to the spirit of man, conscious of his struggle, sympathetic with his life, guiding it to a perfect issue—the call for a supremely righteous Will"—a belief which is necessary if we are to escape moral scepticism. Lastly, from such a view of the nature and worth of the moral life then results the further conviction (or "philosophic faith") of immortality. The task set before the Moral Personality has no relation to time at all, and if

cut short by the accident of death, could be nothing but a delusive mockery. While, of course, the only Immortality to which any meaning can be attached must be conscious and personal.

The standpoint, then, assumed here, will be apparent. Is it right to describe it as critical-Hegelian? The writer at least would be the first to confess his indebtedness to Hegel (and to Aristotle), though, at the same time, he maintains his independence of his masters throughout. But so brief and bald an outline does scant justice to a book so full of matter as this, abounding in eloquent exposition and felicitous illustration of many kinds. One must even apologise.

At the same time, many of those even who find themselves in the main in agreement with the author may be disposed to call in question various of his positions. Thus, to speak only of that which is central to his theory, Professor Seth is anxious—it is perhaps the most important feature of his work—to mark his dissent from the alleged Hegelian tendency to swamp the individual and his experience in an all-engulfing pan-theism (or “pan-logism”), but, one might ask, does his mode of stating his own view escape the danger of the opposite or individualist error? Let it be granted that an absolute idealism in its concern for the universal and objective element in moral, as in intellectual experience, does tend in the direction indicated. Let it be granted also that the *punctum stans* of the moral life is the personal will, self-conscious and self-determining—that this is the prime datum of the ethical problem, and to be conserved at all hazards. Nevertheless, it might be argued, nothing is gained, but, rather, much is lost by so emphasising the self-centredness of the moral personality as to leave out of view the essential relations in which it stands to other personalities beyond itself. In that case, it is difficult to see how the formula, “*Be a Person*,” can be held to supply an adequate moral principle at all. “Self-realisation,” *per se*, is, as Professor Seth admits, so vague as to be useless for this purpose. Nor would it seem to mend matters much to add that it is “the total self that is to be developed, the intellectual, the emotional, and the active or volitional elements, each in its perfection, and all in the harmony of a complete and single life” (p. 259). Moral obligation surely does not apply equally to these three? A deeper analysis of the conception of Personality would appear to be called for here. The formula in question can only supply the place of an ethical *principle*, from which the particular obligations of the good life may be seen to spring, when it is interpreted of such a Self as is nothing, and can “realise” nothing except in and through the network of relations it sustains

to other personalities like itself, and, one would add, to that Supreme Personality which is at once the law, the strength, and the end of the moral life of all of them. Apart from such an interpretation of it, the realising of self would seem to mean merely Culture, and to yield at best only that "individualistic ethics" which is elsewhere so rightly condemned.

This defect, as the present writer ventures to consider it, reappears at various stages of the argument. Thus, on such a view of the Self as Professor Seth seems to imply, he can base the obligation of Benevolence only on either the presence of "social or other-regarding impulses and instincts" in human nature (p. 285), or on "the common personality of man," in which "is found the ground of the conciliation in harmony of the several individual lives" (p. 217). Yes, no doubt personality is a common property of men, but more, does not its exercise imply the living of that which is in the strictest sense a common life? In that case Benevolence, or the seeking of others' good, would be of its very nature and essence, necessary if its self-fulfilment were not to be thwarted and defeated. But it is in dealing with the problem of God that the consequences of the view in question appear most conspicuously. On this whole subject much that is as true as it is needed, is said, and said finely, as, *e.g.*, on the Personality of God, on the common objections to "Anthropomorphism," and on the perverseness of a philosophy which is so bent on unifying the universe as to treat as relation and "appearance" the fundamental moral distinctions themselves, and to give us, in place of the Living and Holy One, a blank Absolute merely. But, on the other hand, the step to Deity remains in these pages a problematical one only. Faith in Him is a splendid venture which the demands of the moral life constrain us to make, and beyond this nothing can be said. Now, practically it may be enough that were not the very nature of things akin to man at the highest point of his being, and pledged to further his main task and interest, these would be a delusion,—enough to ask with Fichte, "Is man alone to be a contradiction in the Universe?" And when man's nature is conceived as though it were a something complete in itself, a self-contained whole apart from the Divine nature as from other finite natures, no further or more satisfactory proof may be possible. But if our nature is shut off no more (rather even less) from the former than from the latter; if the very knowledge of ourselves as moral persons at all, much more the achieving of the task which falls to us as such is inconceivable except as we are seen to be related to "a power not ourselves, making for righteousness," which reveals itself in our ideals, and is the impulse and the support in all our following of them, then may we not say that God is the

necessary implication of our every moral experience, even the simplest? If, indeed, it were so that our truest life moved on within a charmed circle, to which even He was external, doubtless He would remain a grand Peradventure always, at the most a "Moral" Probability, which growth in goodness made less unsure. But this is to overdo the independence our Freedom gives us entirely. He is nearer to us than we are to ourselves. Of all certainties He is the first and surest.

One tends to criticise a book of this sort rather than praise it. It is more respectful to do so. But it would be wrong not to bear testimony to its speculative power and singular literary grace throughout. Professor Seth has at one stride gained a high place for himself among the ethical teachers of his generation.

ALEX. MARTIN.

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### **Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte von Dr Wilhem Möller.**

*Bearbeitet von Dr Gustav Kawerau. Dritter Band. Reformation und Gegen-reformation. Freiburg, i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1894. 8vo, xvi. pp. 440. Price, M.10.*

THE third volume of Dr Möller's Church History will hardly sustain the reputation won by the first two for completeness and impartiality. It can scarcely be said to be Dr Möller's work. The materials he left dealt with sections of the subject and the arrangement, and in a great measure the materials used come to us from the editor, Dr Kawerau. The editor had to help him Dr Möller's lectures on Church History, but these were not so thoroughly down to date, nor was the arrangement altogether suitable for the purpose of a continuation of the Church History. Dr Kawerau had to collect a good deal of the material, and was forced by the incompleteness of what was left him to make independent use of the researches of later years. He has diligently and laboriously read the local histories bearing upon his subject, and omitted few of the recent contributions of modern scholarship, but yet the book is not quite what we might have expected from Dr Möller himself. This third volume, entitled the Reformation and Counter-reformation, includes the history of the Western Church from 1517 down to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It may be said to describe the first and second generations of the Reformation. The material is arranged under seven sections, of which the first and the seventh are almost entirely from the pen of the editor. The arrangement is lucid, and is as follows:—(1) The German Reformation down to 1555, *i.e.*, to the Religious Peace

of Augsburg and the establishment of the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio* for Germany; (2) the reformation beyond Germany, with a short sketch of the work of Calvin; (3) the Roman Catholic reaction; (4) the division of the Reformation Church into Evangelical and Reformed; (5) the conflict between the Reformation and the Counter-reformation; (6) the internal organisation in worship and doctrine of the Evangelical and Reformed Churches; and (7) the non-Catholic groups which came out of the Reformation upheaval. The German perspective of the whole is seen from the fact that while 148 pp. are required to describe the work of Luther in Germany, 50 pp. suffice to narrate the progress of the Reformation elsewhere. The main fault of the book is the abnormally large share of attention which it gives, in common with most German Church histories, to Germany and its religious affairs. Within the limits prescribed by this arrangement the book is, upon the whole, accurate, up to date, fair-minded, and clear. The author deserves credit for stating so clearly that the Roman Catholic reaction dates from the Peasants' War, but he fails to see that the strength of that reaction depended as much on the faint-hearted temporising of Luther as on the awakened instincts of conservatism. His account of the much-maligned Anabaptists is much more fair than what is given in older Church Histories, but he has not got much beyond the views of Albert Ritschl in his History of Pietism, and entirely fails to make use of the new material which has come to light since the publication of that important work. The author seems to regard the Anabaptist movement as one which came from the Reformation, brands it as fanaticism, misses its distinctive principles, and seems to have no idea of its real roots in the end of the 15th century.

T. M. LINDSAY.

### Die Publizistik im zeitalter Gregor's VII.

*Von D. Carl Mirbt, Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 629. Price, M.16.*

THE three most important eras in the Middle Ages are the times of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and John XXII.—the beginning, the flood-tide, and the decline of the papacy as the great political power in Europe. Of the three perhaps the first is the most interesting, and its central figure is undoubtedly the greatest.

From 870-950 anarchy had almost dissolved both papacy and empire. The great feudal vassals had dissipated the head of the holy Roman empire of power and prestige. The fall of the imperial power in Italy had deprived the popes of their protector. The

times were full of wild confusion, and Saracens, Slavs, and Normans were plundering and conquering without let or hindrance. The temporal power was the first to rally; a strong elective monarchy emerged in Germany. It was inheritor of the ideas of Charles the Great, and therefore naturally strove to reform and revive the papacy. A religious revival came to help the reforming emperors, and found its centre in the great monastery of Clugny. The great emperor Henry III. purged the papacy, and under a line of German popes the aim of the spiritual head of Western Christendom was to bring back the clergy to purer and more spiritual lives, and identify the papacy with the highest spiritual life in Europe.

But the papacy could not be content with reforms urged on from the outside: the noblest churchmen of the times saw that if the reform was to be lasting, it must come from the inside. No churchman felt the call for reform more than the Italian monk, Hildebrand. He had been brought into personal contact with the great emperor Henry III., and had imbibed from him many of his aspirations. He had shared in the new religious spirit both at Clugny and at Rome. He believed in the need of a powerful papal monarchy to purify the Church, and he shared the gorgeous dream recounted by St Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei*. He was a Roman, and the state-craft of old Rome had been bequeathed to him. He was a statesman with clear judgment and fertility of invention; above all, he knew how to wait. He carried through the change in the mode of election to the papacy which ended the possibility of its being fought for as a prize by turbulent Roman barons; he maintained the German ascendancy in Rome till the Roman factions were quelled. He made an alliance with the Normans of South Italy, which gave him a force of fighting men. Then elected to the papacy as Gregory VII., he began to carry out the magnificent schemes of reform he had so long planned.

Gregory's greater dream of a united Christendom, when the Church would be no longer divided into East and West, when all Christians would own the supremacy of Rome, need not concern us here. He found work enough to do in reforming the Church of the West, and his idea of reformation was based on the thought of the absolute independence of the Church from the temporal power, the introduction of a more spiritual life among the clergy, and the banishment of all secularity from among ecclesiastical rulers.

The second and third thoughts found for him practical expression in his enforcement of the celibacy of the clergy, and in his denunciation of the practice of simony; while the first thought, which included the other too, took shape in his violent opposition to that lay investiture by ring and pastoral staff, which made

bishops not only ecclesiastical rulers but feudal barons, subject to king or emperor.

What shape his struggle might have taken had the great emperor Henry III. lived is matter for interesting, if fruitless, speculation. Henry had died, leaving a child to succeed him, who grew up to be the heedless, headstrong, profligate Henry IV. A struggle between pope and emperor was the inevitable consequence, and the strong opponents which the rigorous policy of Gregory evoked were confronted by the still stronger opponents of the misgovernment of the emperor. The struggle outlived both Gregory and Henry, and in the end resulted in a compromise, which brought more credit to the papacy than to the empire, and it produced a large number of writers, who advocated or denounced the pretensions of the papacy. Gregory, in particular, gathered round him a band of distinguished Canonists, to whose labours we owe the form which Canon Law assumed during the Middle Ages, and whose ideas practically prevailed until they were fiercely attacked by Marsilius of Padua, John of Jandun, Peter Dubois, and William of Occam, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The ideas of the group of Canonists who defended the schemes of Gregory were adopted by the famous school of Bologna, which, in the middle of the twelfth century, issued the famous *Decretum of Gratian*, which, although it embodied all the forgeries made in the interests of the papacy, was everywhere accepted as the code of Canon Law.

Professor Mirbt has endeavoured to collect and analyse the writings of the advocates and of the opponents of the proposals of Gregory VII., and his book may be regarded as a thorough analysis of these writings. It is in every way more complete than Riezler's, who, in 1874, attempted to do the same service for the conflict between the Temporal and Spiritual Powers, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, in his *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwig des Baiers*. The book is an indispensable guide to the student of earlier mediæval history. The book itself is divided into eight sections, discussing—(1) The principal writings, their authors, and place and time of composition; (2) quarrel between Gregory and Henry, and the measures taken by the pope against the emperor; (3) clerical celibacy and simony; (4) the relation of married priests to the sacraments; (5) the Investiture controversy; (6) the relation between State and Church; (7) the personal life of Gregory III.; and (8) the general character of the literature dealing with these subjects.

The writings dealt with, at least the larger number of them, are to be found in the *Monumenta Germanica*, and date from 1031 to 1112. The author classifies them under the following periods:—(1) From 1031 to 1073, *i.e.*, those prior to the election of Gregory

to the pontificate ; (2) from 1073 to 1085, *i.e.*, those written during Gregory's pontificate ; (3) from 1085 to 1112, *i.e.*, those written between the death of Gregory and the pontificate of Urban II., whose successor, Calixtus II., negotiated the compromise called the Concordat of Worms. Almost one hundred treatises, all dealing with questions of Canon Law, have been gone over, and carefully analysed.

Dr Mirbt discusses very carefully the facts of the two excommunications launched by Gregory against Henry IV., and the various questions raised by these excommunications—the legal right of the pope to excommunicate the emperor, the guilt of the emperor, and the legality of his deposition.

The two methods adopted by Gregory to purify and to render more spiritual the bishops and clergy were the enforcement of sacerdotal celibacy, and the denunciation of simony. In discussing the former the author begins by describing the condition of the morality of the clergy in various parts of Europe, going over the same ground as that covered in Lea's *Sacerdotal Celibacy*. He shows that the thought of priestly celibacy had long attracted the people of Western Europe as an ideal to be aimed after ; that Gregory differed from his predecessors only in the sternness in which he carried out their resolutions ; that whilst the clergy in many parts of the country rose in revolt, the laity, for the most part, took the side of the pope ; and that, in the end, the imperialists themselves had to declare themselves in favour of priestly celibacy. When Gregory declared that the sacraments administered by married priests were invalid, he did not go beyond what had been already decreed by Nicholas II. ; he differed from his predecessors in the rigour by which he compelled his decree to be carried out. This decree of Gregory, and the measures he took to enforce it, produced a great deal of controversy, and the writings of both parties are carefully analysed.

Gregory's action in the matter of Lay-Investiture naturally provoked great controversy. The Lay-Investiture may be described briefly as follows :—Investiture was a feudal ceremony, according to which the vassal placed his hands between the hands of his feudal lord, swore to be his man (*baron, i.e., baro'-vir*), and was then ceremonially placed in possession of feudal properties and rights. The emperor and king claimed the right of investing bishops as well as barons, and did so on the ground that bishops held feudal rights over lands within their domains, and were barons as well as bishops, owing service to the temporal power as well as to the spiritual. But there was involved a whole variety of ecclesiastical and other questions, such as the rights of the laity represented by the lay-head of the community, rights of patrons over benefices, &c. ; and

on the other side, the idea that the consecration of the bishops was a purely ecclesiastical matter, and the control of the pope over all the bishops of the Church. No mediæval controversy had such deep roots in the past ; none had such direct and indirect consequences in the future. To take single instances—the consistorial system of the German Lutheran Church represents the modern triumph of Anti-Gregorian principles ; and the patronage struggle in Scotland, with its ending, involved ideas contended for, to some extent, by Gregory and his followers.

Professor Mirbt shows in his analysis of the writing of Cardinal Humbert that partizans who, before Gregory's pontificate, advocated his ideas, based their objections to Lay-Investiture on the two ideas—that to give a bishop investiture of his office is a purely spiritual act, and that princes who are laymen have nothing to do with purely ecclesiastical or spiritual functions. The diocesan lands which became the legal possession of the bishop, the judicial functions which he was authorised to perform, are not practically taken into consideration. They regard the investiture with ring and staff as the assignment of a spiritual office, the bestowal of the *cura pastoralis*, and the warrant for the stewardship of the sacraments. The *baculus camyrus* or Episcopal staff signifies the *cura pastoralis*, and the *annulus* or Episcopal ring is the *signaculum secretorum celestium*. These are spiritual gifts, and cannot be conferred by lay hands. On the other hand, it is evident from the writings of partizans on the other side, that while in some obscure way it is seen that the laity have some right to say whom they wish to be their bishops, the writers have before them much more distinctly the feudal possessions and feudal jurisdictions which bishops came to enjoy when they were infeft in their benefices.

However strongly Gregory and his partizans felt about the spiritual rights of the Church to set apart its own office-bearers, it is evident that the great practical interest involved was whether bishops were to be practically more dependent on the local temporal powers than on the pope. Gregory did not require to establish the spiritual or ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope over the whole episcopate, that had been done thoroughly by his predecessor ; what he wanted was to gather under his rule all the temporal power which bishops had as feudal lords ; and this meant, had he been thoroughly successful, that the papacy would have become a great temporal monarchy, with its lands scattered over Europe in the shape of diocesan domains, parish glebes, and convent lands, its taxes, the tithes, annates, &c., and its law the Canon Law of the Church, as opposed to the civil law of the empire.

The motives and cross-purposes inspiring the beginnings of this great conflict, which in the end shattered the mediæval ideal of

Christendom, will be found at length in Professor Mirbt's most interesting work.

The book deals with so large a subject, and discusses it in such an exhaustive way, that I feel it somewhat presumptuous to offer any word of criticism. Still I cannot help saying, that however partizans of Gregory may have accepted Augustine's idea that the State has its roots in human sin, and is therefore at best an unholy institution, I cannot help thinking that Gregory himself did not go quite so far, and that his own ideas were in greater harmony with those of Bernard of Clairvaux than with those of his strongest partizans. The memory and life-work of Henry III. never quite left him.

T. M. LINDSAY.

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### **Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften : Praktische Theologie.**

*Von D. E. Chr. Achelis, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xiv. 284. Price, M. 5.*

It is hardly necessary to do more than note the publication of this Outline of Practical Theology. The book is a mere abridgment of the author's two-volume work which has already been noticed at some length in the *Critical Review* (Vol. i., p. 300; Vol. ii., p. 401). The principles and the general plan adopted by Dr Achelis remain unchanged; but partly by condensation, partly by omission, the exposition of the subject has been reduced to less than a fourth of its original bulk. At the same time, a careful comparison of the two works has satisfied me that nothing of essential importance has been omitted. The Outline will probably be found more serviceable than the larger work, with all its good qualities. The shorter statement finds room for a considerable amount of detail. Dr Achelis, for instance, gives his views with regard to clerical beards and clerical coats, as well as with regard to the aims and methods of pastoral work. He has, nevertheless, attained a clearness, crispness and conciseness that call for special commendation. It is easy to see that the author has Germany and German students mainly in view, but the discussion is by no means parochial or provincial. Dr Achelis might, however, with considerable advantage revise some of his statements with regard to things outside Germany. The Church of Scotland does not carry on Mission work in Kaffraria (p. 251). He still persists in saying that "the Mission of the Scottish State Church flourishes because of the rivalry of the Free Church."

JAMES ROBERTSON.

**Koptische Grammatik, mit Chrestomathie, Wörterverzeichnis und Litteratur.**

(*Porta Linguarum, Pars xiv.*) Von Georg Steindorff. Berlin : Reuther & Reichard, 1894 ; Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 314. Price M. 13. 20.

ALTHOUGH there had existed in Europe an unbroken tradition of Coptic studies since the days of Athanasius Kircher, and accessible material sufficient for the formation of such scholars as Woide and Zoega, it must be owned that the earlier generation of Egyptologists—forgetful here of the example of Champollion—worked on, content with but a meagre acquaintance with this final phase of the ancient language. Not, indeed, that there was a dearth of labourers in the field. The Coptic scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were succeeded by others ; to Uhlemann and Schwartz, and, still more, to Peyron, Revillout, and Lagarde, students must always be grateful. But most of these worked without regard to the influence they might have upon the progress of hieroglyphic studies, towards which, indeed, the last-named great scholar maintained—at any rate, till quite the end of his career—an attitude of mistrust, if not of actual incredulity.

In fact, it is scarcely more than fifteen years since the mutual indispensability of the hieroglyphic and Coptic phases of the Egyptian language—never, as a theoretical truth, contested—has been insisted on, and made to yield practical results.

And the demonstration of this truth, which to-day seems obvious enough, has been almost entirely the work of the Berlin Egyptologists. The first to give proof of its influence was Ludwig Stern, who, in his Coptic grammar (1880), made no small use of the facts then acquired from the older language. The present work of Professor Steindorff may be taken as an exposition of the progress achieved since that date. From it and from its companion volume, Professor Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, we can judge how great that progress has been,—greater, of course, at first sight upon the hieroglyphic than upon the Coptic side ; for many of the principal problems of Coptic grammar had been solved, some even by Peyron, many more by Stern, from the last of whom, indeed, Professor Steindorff might seem to differ, mainly upon secondary points ; such, *e.g.*, as the grouping of the tenses according to their formative auxiliaries, or the designation of the *Qualitative* as *Participle*.

Yet, in fact, when closely examined, it is clear that the systematic studies of the author, of Professor Erman, and Dr Sethe, in the

more ancient idioms, have greatly modified the views of Coptic grammar, which even they themselves but lately defended. If we look, for example, at the sections dealing with the Verb, we see much that is unknown to Stern's grammar,—new explanations of certain usages, as of the participial force of the second Present; new etymologies for whole groups of forms—*e.g.* Stern's "Nominal Verbs," the younger form of Causatives, or the later secondary verbal class which Professor Steindorff terms "Neubildungen" (§ 245).

But the two features which most prominently call for note in a general estimate of this work show a divergence in degree rather than in kind from Stern's methods. First, there is the much more frequent, indeed, the now perpetual reference, for comparative purposes, to the older, "Egyptian" forms of the language. This is remarkable, especially in the chapter on phonetics, — perhaps the most valuable portion of the book. Professor Steindorff has here ventured further than his predecessors by frequently filling out with hypothetical vowels the consonantal skeletons which alone the hieroglyphic texts offer. Far the greater part of the hieroglyphic vocabulary it is, of course, still impossible thus to reanimate; yet there are now sufficient data collected to allow of an approximate vocalization of many forms.

The second novel feature, characteristic of the new grammar as a whole, is the preference given to the Upper over the Lower Egyptian dialect as a medium for describing the language. The earlier scholars, following the example of the native grammarians, for most of whom the Saidic dialect was already an extinct or dying idiom, took the Bohairic as the basis of their teaching; and Stern, though he admitted the higher antiquity of the Saidic, adopted their system. To those particularly whose interest in Coptic literature is chiefly theological, the pre-eminence given by all to-day to the Southern dialect,—this *furor saidicus*, as some have lately termed it,—should be especially welcome. For this was the dialect of the districts most remote from foreign influences, and in it have been preserved to us the most notable documents of the language—the *Pistis Sophia* is notorious among them. And, indeed, evidence is from time to time coming to light that much of the better preserved Bohairic literature is merely an adaptation of older Saidic originals. As to the value of the version of the New Testament in this dialect, theologians will recall the opinion of Bishop Lightfoot, that "a complete collection of all the fragments of the Saidic New Testament is now the most pressing want in the province of textual criticism."

From the selection of reading-lessons which concludes this, as all other volumes of the series, a very fair idea can be had

of the characteristics of the literature. The inevitable Biblical passages are preceded by three good specimens from the patristic works. Whether translated from Greek originals or no, they respectively allow us to judge of the taste of the Copts in "philosophy," — for the Apophthegmata, the "wit and wisdom" of the Fathers, is the nearest approach to philosophy which, at that period, appears to have been appreciated in Egypt,—in eloquence (the "Eulogy of S. Victor") and in inventive narrative (the Acts of SS. Andrew and Paul). Had the compass of the book allowed it, we might have been given an example of the only surviving civil documents which are, at the same time, the sole texts of any length in which we can follow the workings of the Egyptian Syntax in its youngest developments, —the legal papyri of Jêmé.

W. E. CRUM.

### **St Paul's Conception of Christianity.**

*By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894. Pp. 404. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THE peculiar merits and characteristics of this book, its power, its fulness of meaning, and its reverent seriousness, as well as what may appear its drawbacks to some, such as its freedom in criticising both the Apostle and his writings, are largely due to the fact that the author of it is Professor of Apologetics as well as of New Testament Exegesis. Those who do not bear in mind the apologetic purpose and spirit of the author may neither understand his determination to use only those epistles which cannot be gainsaid as sources of Paulinism, nor appreciate the readiness with which he gives up everything which cannot be vindicated, no matter how venerable it may be. But those who understand his attitude and aim will recognise his wisdom in all this, and will rejoice in the special value which this method of treatment gives the book for all who are really beset with difficulties and are laboriously building up the structure of their faith. For this volume ought to be of great service to inquirers after the truth, and especially to those who come to it ready to listen, because of the author's well-known fearlessness and resolute honesty.

Dr Bruce here fully maintains his reputation of being among the foremost living apologists and exegetes. In this volume we have the ripe fruits of years of study and of a perfect mastery of every aspect of the subject under discussion, a subject on which comparatively little has as yet been written in English. With all the courage and caution, the freedom from traditional modes of treat-

ment, and the loyalty to what is actually written, which he has taught his readers to expect, he here makes a genuine contribution to the work of re-construction which is now at last going on. There is the same fairness, the same frankness, the same sympathy for an opponent's position except where he is a system-builder, the same confidence in the truth of what he expounds and defends, and the same clear and vigorous writing which have been the characteristics of his former contributions to theological science.

The first step in the discussion is the ascertaining of the sources of Paulinism; and Dr Bruce takes these as contained in the four great epistles which are accepted as Paul's by all serious critics. The chapters on these epistles, preliminary to the detailed topical treatment of the subject, are of the most helpful kind, luminous in detail and laying emphasis on the great sayings after the author's wont, and yet never losing sight of the unity of purpose in the details. "In *Galatians*," he summarises, "St Paul defends the independence of Christianity against those who would make Christendom subject to Jewish law and custom; in 1 and 2 *Corinthians* he defends his own independence and authority as a God-commissioned apostle of the Gentiles, against those who asserted the exclusive authority of the Eleven; in *Romans*, while giving a comprehensive statement of his views on the gospel, he addresses himself very specially to the solution of the problem how to reconcile his idea of Christianity with the admitted truth that Israel had for many centuries been God's elect people." In an earlier chapter, however, there is a summary of the apostle's teaching in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the view taken of these letters being that in them we have a primer of Paul's teaching as uninfluenced by controversy, and as he presented it in simple untechnical language to nascent Christian communities. That the teaching in these epistles is simpler and less developed than that of the four controversial epistles does not necessarily prove that Paul had not yet worked out his theology when he wrote them, but that he practised reserve or self-restraint in speaking to babes in Christ.

There is another preliminary chapter on Paul's religious history, dealing mainly with the question as to how far he had got in an apprehension of the real issues involved before his conversion, and how far the momentous discoveries which made him the great leader in theology he proved to be, were made immediately after his conversion. Dr Bruce's conclusions, although independently arrived at, are largely a combination of the views of Beyschlag, who lays the emphasis exclusively on the fruitless struggle after righteousness, and of the views of Pfleiderer who, with equal onesidedness, insists on Saul's familiarity with the Christian beliefs about Jesus and the processes of thought which these originated in his mind. In op-

position to those who, like Dr Matheson in *The Spiritual Development of St Paul*, find little or no struggle in the period antecedent to the conversion, Dr Bruce holds that "it would be nearer the truth to say that on the day Saul of Tarsus was converted his spiritual development to a large extent lay behind him." In this connection he makes much of the inexhaustible significance which such a spiritual crisis would have for such a man as Paul. "Thought is quick at such creative epochs, and feeling is quicker still." "The truth is," he says, "that a whole group of religious intuitions, the universal destination of Christianity being one of them, flashed simultaneously into the convert's mind like a constellation of stars, on the day of his conversion." Not, of course, that Dr Bruce teaches that the apostle's system of Christian thought underwent no expansion in any direction after the initial period. Far from that, he calls on his readers to distinguish carefully between Paul's *religious intuitions* and his *theological formulations* as well as between the positive elements in his system and its *apologetic elements*. All the same, he contends that the preparation for the great change in Paul's life had been so thorough that "for him to become a Christian meant everything."

The sources ascertained, and the main features of the religious history of the apostle, which is so intimately bound up with his theological system, portrayed, Dr Bruce proceeds to deal topically with Paul's teaching on the great themes of Christian doctrine. He discusses at length the doctrine of sin, the righteousness of God, the death of Christ, adoption, without and within, the moral energy of faith, the Holy Spirit, the flesh as a hindrance to holiness, the likeness of sinful flesh, the law, the election of Israel, Christ, the Christian life, the Church, and the last things. There is also an important supplementary note on the teaching of the apostle compared with that of our Lord in the synoptical gospels, a note which is long enough to make readers wish it were longer, and on a theme which still awaits the fulness of treatment it deserves. In a series of discussions, all of which deserve the most serious attention, it is not easy, nor is it perhaps desirable, to single any out as especially weighty. Some readers will come under the power of the author in one connection, and others in another, but there will be few if any who will not come under it somewhere. The discussion on the righteousness of God is noteworthy for a grand description of justifying faith, that on the moral energy of faith for its splendid evangelism, that on the flesh as a hindrance to holiness for its intense moral earnestness. And so on all through the book. The discussion on the "likeness of sinful flesh" will perhaps be less convincing than most of the others; while here and there many readers will feel that it is perhaps a drawback that, like Paul himself in his controversial

epistles, Dr Bruce seems always to be writing with some opponent in view. This may give a vividness to the whole which otherwise it might lack, but his work is never more valuable than when he is expounding Paul after his own fashion without any reference to those who have gone before either as expositors or as assailants of the truth.

All through the reader is arrested by passages of great interest and importance. To enumerate these would be to reproduce the book, but the following are samples :—The passage on page 105 on the imperialism of the Epistle to the Romans ; the fresh and luminous exposition of Romans v. 12 on pages 130 to 132 ; the characteristic discussion on pages 167 to 171 on the word *ἁσπύριον* in Romans iii. 25 ; the grave warning regarding the right presentation of the Gospel on page 182 ; the passage on Paul's religious genius on page 220 ; the eloquent protest against Weiss' minimising of the function of faith on pages 236 and 237 ; and such foot-notes as those on pages 42 and 137, on Galatians i. 18, and the bearing of the distinction between *ἁμαρτία* and *παράβασις*. Nor can we omit the much needed protests against sacramentarianism on pages 137, 148 and 292 ; the refusals to account for Paulinism by eclectic patchwork on pages 133 and 218, as if Paul had no ideas of his own, but simply pieced together extracts and phrases from his predecessors and contemporaries ; and the truly apologetic note of warning on page 142 not to make Scripture responsible for all the popular ideas about the paradise state, which may ere long bring or seem to bring the Church's doctrine into collision with the ascertained facts of science.

In his prefatory note, Professor Bruce informs his readers that he has in view the issue of a work similar to this on *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, as soon as he can command the necessary leisure. Every reader of this volume will sincerely desire that all obstacles to that leisure and its promised fruits will be removed from his pathway, at least until that successor appears.

W. MUIR.

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### **The Trial and Death of Jesus Christ: a Devotional History of our Lord's Passion.**

*By James Stalker, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 309. Price, 5s.*

THIS volume will be found worthy of those which have preceded it from Dr Stalker's pen, and which are deservedly popular. In the sub-title it is called "a devotional history of our Lord's Passion," and this is a true account of the contents. The ethical insight and earnestness of the book are perhaps more marked features than its

religious fervour. In his laudable desire to avoid the "oh's and ah's," and declamatory style that characterise many books on the Passion, the author may be thought by some to have unduly repressed the religious feeling that is naturally awakened by the scenes that he brings before the reader. But it is impossible to read the book without being edified as well as interested. It is purely expository, and does not enter on any of the critical questions that have been raised on this portion of the Gospel narrative. The author is content to give a connected account of the trial and passion of Christ, drawing out the lessons as he goes, and applying them with the skill of the preacher who has always his audience in his eye. What strikes the reader is the obviousness, in most cases, of the lessons that the incidents are made to yield. Like the late Dr Liddon, Dr Stalker has the courage to be commonplace, and this, no doubt, is one secret of his power and success as a preacher. In the earlier part of the volume the course and incidents of the trial are graphically told. He unfolds the story as it has presented itself to his mind, without entering on the processes by which he has arrived at results on disputed points. In the table of contents are found references in the Gospels to the passages from which he has drawn in each chapter. The reader may thus peruse the book with New Testament in hand, and see for himself the part that an allowable exercise of the imagination has played in the reconstruction of the story, and the judgment the author has shown in the arrangement of the material. The account of Peter's denial of Christ (chap. 3) is a vivid picture, and whether literally true or not, is a fine instance of the help imagination is in making the scenes of the Gospel real to the reader. It can scarcely be said that there is anything that is new in Dr Stalker's treatment of the character of Pilate, Herod, and the others that the narrative brings before us. The main point he emphasises throughout is a truth which Tholuck's "Light from the Cross" has made us familiar with, that the death of Christ was a revelation of human character, each of the actors, by his conduct in the transaction, discovering, and passing judgment upon, himself. Applying that truth as he proceeds, Dr Stalker points out with much impressiveness the operation in the life of to-day of the principles that dictated the conduct of the murderers of Christ.

The second part of the volume is taken up with an exposition of the seven words from the Cross. The author's treatment of this much-written-about theme is characteristic. Touching rapidly, and with a light hand, the various lessons suggested by these memorable utterances, and their application to modern life, he is always interesting, and sustains the attention to the close of the chapter. It may be doubted, however, whether the variety of topics intro-

duced, and the way in which the thought in each case is broken up and illustrated, does not interfere with the unity of impression that is made when one main truth is insisted upon from beginning to end. One is interested and carried along; but the mind is diverted somehow from the central figure of the picture.

Dr Stalker does not touch on the theological aspects of the theme, or on the *Doctrine* of the Cross; he confines himself to the moral and religious truths that are taught by the history. But theologians might learn something from the wisdom and sobriety of judgment with which he treats the fourth word of the Cross ("My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me"?).

It is not fair to expect more than our author undertakes to give. The theme is the Death of Christ; but he has a chapter on His Burial. And he might have added another on the Resurrection. To close a book on the last days of our Lord's life in the following way seems to us startling in its abruptness:—"It was evening, and the Sabbath drew on; and the Sabbath of His life had come. His work was completed: persecution and hatred could not touch Him any more. He was where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

D. SOMERVILLE.

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### Life and Letters of Erasmus.

*Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1893-4. By James Anthony Froude, late Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1894. 8vo, pp. vi. 406. Price, 15s. 2nd ed., cr. 8vo, pp. 458. Price, 6s.*

MR FROUDE'S study of Erasmus has all the virtues of his earlier works, and it is free from most of their faults. It shows that he preserved in his old age his insinuating grace of style, and that skill in delineating character which might have secured him a place among the masters of fiction, had he continued to make fiction his vocation. But his "Erasmus" has the additional merit of giving a true picture of the man and his times; for it is disfigured by none of the perverse and arbitrary judgments which led some critics to describe the "History of England" as good literature but indifferent history. The reason of this improvement is obvious. With the attitude and opinions of Erasmus he was in complete accord, while his admiration for the Protestant Reformers did not extend to their positive religious faith. For Latimer and Luther, Calvin and Knox, he had an unfeigned admiration; he was attracted to them by their earnestness, their scorn for Romish superstitions, and their hatred of compromise. But as he was out

of sympathy with the main purpose of their lives, his eulogy often degenerated into that tone of condescending patronage, which M. Renan was accustomed to use when speaking of the Hebrew Prophets and the Christian Apostles. He could not, and did not, conceal his opinion that the Reformers, although they had discarded the superstitions of Rome, remained under the power of a rival superstition not less irreconcilable with modern enlightenment. A sceptical man of the nineteenth century, writing of the religious prophets of the sixteenth, he perplexed his reflecting readers by the fervour of his admiration; for if the Reformers had no authentic religious mission to give to mankind a new form of faith, it is hard to justify their action in destroying the existing sanctions of morals and social order. The great schism which divided nations as well as churches, and the wars which followed, were too heavy a price to pay for a somewhat speedier disappearance of superstitious practices which would inevitably have vanished with the gradual progress of enlightened ideas.

Mr Froude's agreement with Erasmus did not rest upon similarity of temperament; for the Mr Froude of the History at all events retained the imperious ecclesiastical temperament, and would have preferred to rule opinion by scorn and anathemas rather than by arguments addressed to the understanding. His temperament, therefore, drew him towards the Reformers; but no similarity of temperament could bridge the chasm of opinion by which he was separated from them. With Erasmus, on the other hand, he was in as complete agreement as a writer of the nineteenth century could well be.

His Biography of Erasmus is, in its main lines, a powerful and conclusive Apologia. If English readers persist in misunderstanding Erasmus, it will not be the fault of Mr Froude, whose admirable translations of his frank and unreserved letters leave no room for further misunderstanding. In former times the character of Erasmus was an enigma, because of the current assumption that every Christian must be either a Roman Catholic or a Protestant. As he was neither, partisan writers, with their accustomed want of charity, solved the enigma by alleging that he was a Protestant by conviction, who refused to declare himself from dread of unpleasant consequences. The greatest scholar of the German Renaissance has thus been execrated for centuries by Protestant tradition as a worldly time-server, and Catholics did not care to defend one who had spoken disrespectfully of their Church. Mr Froude has not found it difficult to vindicate his memory from this charge, and he is not an over-partial advocate. We doubt, indeed, if he quite liked Erasmus. At all events, he has thrown no veil over his weaknesses, which are writ large in his correspondence. Like

Heine, he sometimes represented himself as worse than he was, writing most humiliating confessions to amuse himself and to shock his correspondents. He was certainly lacking in self-respect, and in the feeling of honourable independence. A dependent all his life, he had never any scruple in begging money and favours from his rich friends. Like the musician, Wagner, he estimated at their full value his services to his fellow-men, and he considered that persons of wealth should be willing to place him in those circumstances of easy comfort, in which he could do his work to the best advantage. The only apology that can be made for him is, that it was the custom of the age; poor scholars could not subsist save through the bounty of the great. And if Erasmus asked without delicacy, he gave without grudging to those poorer than himself. It may be added that he never bartered his freedom of thought or of speech in exchange for honour and pensions. Nevertheless, it would have been well for the reputation of Erasmus had he been a less importunate beggar.

A second prejudice, not so well founded, has been excited against Erasmus by the light, sarcastic tone he often adopted when writing of religious subjects. This may have been a symptom of the absence of profound religious faith, which is usually, although not always, serious in tone. But it is no proof of his insincerity, but rather of an honesty of character which kept him back from saying more than he really felt. It was his misfortune to have been trained in a religion and a theology for which he felt a profound disdain. His sense of reverence was therefore weakened in his youth, and he never quite recovered it. Later in life he discovered a religion in the New Testament which won his lasting regard; and it was the principal aim of his literary activity to make the New Testament known, and to recommend its practical teachings. But with regard to the dogmatical teaching even of the New Testament, especially as contained in the writings of St Paul and St John, he always remained uncertain, if not sceptical. The convictions needful for the religious Prophet he never possessed. It was a mark therefore of sincerity of character that he did not assume the Prophet's garment, but contented himself with the half-playful tone proper to the man of letters. Everywhere in his writings he insinuated his religious opinions, and they were always on the right side in matters of practice, but he never preached them. Those, however, who are acquainted with his writings can hardly have failed to note the accent of subdued fervour with which he always spoke of the practical side of New Testament religion.

The most serious charge against Erasmus is his alleged "Great Refusal" to cast in his lot with Luther, although convinced of the righteousness of his cause. To this charge the letters in Mr Froude's

volume furnish a complete answer. Erasmus agreed with Luther in his condemnation of the evil policy of the Popes, and of the ridiculous religion of the Friars. He desired to reform both by the help of these luminaries of learning and the Gospel ; but here his agreement with Luther ended. Luther likewise wished to purify the doctrine of the Church, but he never doubted that a new system of dogma must be substituted for that of the schoolmen. Of the need for dogma he thus wrote in a letter quoted by Mr Froude : " Christians require certainty, definite dogmas, a sure Word of God which they can trust to live and die by. For such certainty Erasmus cares not." Whether Erasmus cared for such certainty or not, we cannot say ; but he did not believe that it was attainable in the present life. Of doctrinal discussions he wrote : " May not a man be a Christian who cannot explain philosophically how the Nativity of the Son differs from the Procession of the Holy Spirit ? If I believe in the Trinity in Unity, I want no arguments. If I do not believe, I shall not be convinced by reason. The sum of religion is peace, which can only be when definitions are as few as possible, and opinion is left free on many subjects. Our present problems are said to be waiting for the next Ecumenical Council. Better let them wait till the veil is removed and we see God face to face." In another letter, when writing of a proposed Crusade against the Turks, he thus expressed his opinion of the injury done to practical religion by doctrinal subtleties and debates : " Reduce the Articles of Faith to the fewest and simplest. Show them that Christ's yoke is easy, that we are shepherds and not robbers, and do not mean to oppress them. The cry is only for pardons, dispensations, and indulgences, and the trade goes on in the name of popes and princes, and even of Christ Himself. Ask a question of the scholastic divines and the casuists, and you are told of qualifications, of equivocations, and such like. No one of them will say to you, Do this and leave that. They ought to show their faith in their works, and convert Turks by the beauty of their lives." Had Erasmus, with such views, joined hands with Luther, he might have escaped bodily martyrdom, as did Luther—Erasmus frankly confessed he had no ambition to become a martyr—but he could hardly have escaped a spiritual martyrdom through association with men with whom he was in imperfect sympathy. Mr Froude expresses the opinion that the reply of Erasmus to Luther's first letter was entirely honourable to him. The same remark may be made with regard to his conduct through the whole controversy, if we fairly take into account his opinions and his position. He spoke highly of Luther's character and of his general aims ; these he continued to defend even when writing to men in power who were Luther's enemies, and he steadily refused to write against

him, although he was strongly pressed to do so. It is true he regretted the vehemence of Luther's language; he counselled greater moderation, and he condemned his revolt against the authority of the Pope. As Erasmus attributed the evil condition of the Church and the Lutheran revolt itself to the evil policy of the Popes, it may seem that he ought in consistency to have approved of the action of Luther. But Erasmus looked upon the remedy as worse than the disease. The Popedom might be reformed; but if the sole centre of ecclesiastical and social order were destroyed, he saw nothing but disaster before the Church and the world. He had no belief in the possibility of a democratic reform of the Church: appeals to the mob were hateful to him, and he was aware that every previous attempt at reform, which had thrown off the authority of the Papacy, had ended in failure and in disaster. He foresaw more clearly than Luther did that the end of the Protestant movement would be schism and religious war, and his hatred of war amounted to a passion. "I have preached all my life," he wrote, "and shall not change my ways at the end of it." While Luther was predicting a speedy fulfilment of the most glorious prophecies of Isaiah through the preaching of the Gospel, Erasmus was looking forward to a schism of the Church and of the nations. There may have been something grander in Luther's faith than in the forebodings of Erasmus; and the new order which finally emerged may have recompensed Europe for the wars and tumults which the Reformation brought in its train. But the new order was not established by the evangelical means which Luther approved of, but by an alliance of the party of evangelical reform with scholars and princes, who transformed it into an organised system of dogma and polity which had considerable affinities to that of Rome. It is always a profitless task in studying history to consider what might have been; we must remember, as Mr Froude remarks, that the future course of things was hidden alike from Luther and from Erasmus. "Let any man of seventy," writes Mr Froude, "look back over what he has witnessed in his own time. Let him remember what was hoped for from political changes or wars, or from each step in his personal life, and compare what has really resulted from those things with what he once expected; how difficulties have shown themselves which no one foresaw; how his calculations have been mocked by incidents which the wisest never dreamt of; and he will plead to be judged, if his conduct comes under historical review, by his intentions and not by the event."

More than once in the course of his delightful volume Mr Froude counsels his readers to look at the history of the sixteenth century through the eyes of Erasmus. If we do so, we shall not always fully understand its splendid idealism, we shall not perhaps

fathom its profound religious passion ; but we shall possess in him a more impartial guide than we could have in any other man of his time ; for Erasmus did justice alike to the Reformers and to the good intentions of Leo X. An ecclesiastical trimmer, to use the word in no unfavourable sense, can never enjoy the plaudits of the *Claque* of the Catholic or Protestant party ; but he will help those who desire to do so, to form a just judgment of the characters of men who lived in a period of passionate strife, and cannot be estimated aright through the eyes of the partisans on either side.

JOHN GIBB.

### Introduction to the New Testament.

*By F. Godet, D.D., Professor in the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchatel. Particular Introduction. I. The Epistles of St Paul. Translated from the French by William Affleck, B.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. xiii. 621. Price, 12s. 6d. net.*

### New Testament Theology ; or, Historical Account of the Teachings of Jesus, and of Primitive Christianity according to the New Testament Sources.

*By Dr Willibald Beyschlag, Professor of Theology, Halle. Translated by Rev. Neil Buchanan, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 2 vols. demy 8vo, pp. xxiii. 419, xii. 522. Price, 18s. net.*

WHEN they appeared in their original French and German, these two books were reviewed at length in this Journal.<sup>1</sup> We have now the satisfaction of seeing them in a suitable English dress. They are both books of importance, and they have been fortunate in their translators. The English rendering, in both cases, is in general a trustworthy bit of work. It also reads pleasantly, giving as good a representation of the original as may be fairly expected in view of the differences in the idioms of the languages. It is by no means easy to reproduce in English the admirably lucid, free, and attractive style in which Professor Godet is a master. Mr Affleck, however, has done his task carefully and well.

These two books by no means move on the same plane. They have characteristic and far-reaching differences. But both are weighty contributions to the study of the New Testament, and to that of the Pauline writings in particular. The importance of Professor Godet's volume lies largely in its sober and admirably constructed defence of the Pauline authorship of the disputed

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III. p. 142, etc., and p. 391, etc.

Epistles. His discussion of the difficulties connected with the Pastoral Epistles, especially his examination of the objection drawn from the supposed "inadmissible situations" for the three letters, and his statement on the "possible situation" for them, deserve particular attention. It is one of several recent discussions which have helped to place these questions of the date and authorship of the Pastoral Epistles in a new position. But there are other things that give this book a value of its own. The sketch of Paul's career previous to his first Epistle is one of the most instructive sections of the book. There are some conclusions and some hypotheses in it, no doubt, which are open to question. The view which Professor Godet takes of the thorn, or the infirmity in the flesh, is one of these. He sets aside the ideas of ophthalmia, blindness, epilepsy, etc., and takes no notice of the suggestion of acute fever. He holds it unnecessary to identify the illness which detained Paul in Galatia with the chronic malady elsewhere referred to, and comes to the conclusion that the "permanent malady appearing in the form of sudden attacks, mentioned in the Corinthians, might be that with which certain preachers have been seized, a sudden cramp that suddenly deprives them of speech in the middle of their discourse, and only permits them to stammer, and, as it were, to rattle." But apart from some doubtful contentions of this kind, the review of Paul's life, with its discussions of the amount of Greek learning with which he may be credited, and, above all, with its examination of the historical problem of his conversion, is done as only a master in New Testament study and a mind equally reverent and scientific can do it.

Professor Beyschlag's treatment of New Testament Theology has also great and unchallengeable merits. Among all who have written on the subject he goes a way entirely his own, and presents many a question in a very novel light. His book is an eminently suggestive one, fertile in views and speculations, which often fail to carry assent, but which seldom fail to set us a-thinking. The parts in which he is least convincing are those in which he comes across our Lord's own teaching and that of the Apostles on the subject of His Person. Professor Beyschlag has a Christology of his own, a fine form of the Ideal Man theory, and the influence of this is felt in his exposition of these sections. His interpretation of our Lord's consciousness is, in our opinion, restricted beyond what is demanded by a historical treatment of the relevant passages. He is not to be classed, however, with the Unitarian or the Socinian, as we understand the term. To rank him with these is to misunderstand him and do him injustice. He is not an anti-Trinitarian. On the contrary, he belongs to the school of Schleiermacher, and holds that, while

Unitarianism "places an impassable gulf between God and man," in Christ we see the perfect union of the two. His difficulty is with the doctrine of a hypostatic Trinity, a Trinity of three "Persons." He is a modal Trinitarian, and adheres to a Christology which pre-supposes a Trinity of God. Much is to be gained by a study of these volumes. To read Beyschlag alongside Weiss is an excellent discipline for the students of New Testament Theology.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

### **Jesu Verkündigung und Lehre vom Reiche Gottes in ihrer geschichtlichen Bedeutung.**

*Von Dr Georg Schnedermann, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig. 1 Hälfte. Die Verkündigung Jesu vom Kommen des Königreiches Gottes. Leipzig: Deichert, 1893. 8vo, pp. 198. Price, 3s.*

### **Jesu Stellung zum mosaichen Gesetz : ein Beitrag zum Leben Jesu und zur Ethik.**

*Von Lic. theol. Leonard Jacob. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. iv. 46. Price, 2s.*

THE first of these works forms a helpful contribution to Biblical Theology. Professor Schnedermann has already published several essays in this line of thought ; but, growingly impressed with the necessity of giving more complete and permanent form as well as systematic character to his views on the teaching of Jesus regarding the Kingdom of God, he has now published this first instalment of his work. In doing so, he rather modestly does not plead that he has anything very new to say, but he does contend that the subject has not hitherto been treated with sufficient clearness, and that it is not so generally known as its importance deserves. He thus claims that his work is at once necessary and useful.

Special prominence has at various periods been assigned to the Kingdom of God as the central or ruling idea in the Christian religion. Ritschl and his followers will at once occur to the minds of many as men who have been seeking to enforce this as the dominant thought in New Testament teaching. With the Ritschlian view, however, both in form and substance, there is anything but entire satisfaction, and this feeling of uneasiness makes itself felt in many ways. The present work may be regarded as a fresh attempt to formulate a more just and adequate conception of our Lord's doctrine. The author explicitly states that he regards the view given of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus as not a distinctively new element ; he rather maintains that this view was, in

the first instance, Israelitish or Jewish. Nor does he conceal his opposition to all rationalistic interpretations of Scripture.

Special value attaches to Professor Schnedermann's remarks regarding the works of others who have already written on the same subject. His criticisms are lucid and pointed, and commend themselves as remarkably just and fair. There is ample evidence of extensive reading, combined with sound judgment and independent thinking.

At the outset we take exception to Herr Jacob's method of procedure. Though expecting, from the title of his essay, to find something said about the Law of Moses, we discover no allusion whatever either to Moses or his Law; indeed, the very first sentence, giving, as it were, the keynote of the whole, leads us somewhat plainly to understand that we are to look for something else: "Moral ideas are not excogitated by moralists, but grow in history." Further on we find him writing thus, in the unfolding of his views: "The 'Law'—the definite form of the moral ideal of this people [Israel]—is ever based on the historical situation for the time being"; and again, "The moral ideal, like the idea of God, is a product of history."

In attempting to establish his position, he points first to the condition of the ancient Israelites, who were comfortably settled in Canaan, and were led by their circumstances, he says, to think of God as favouring them because of their obedience to His will. The second stage, he says, was reached at the time of the Exile, when the bitter experiences of the nation made them think, especially under Ezekiel's guidance, of God's justice, but also of His mercy and salvation. With this was associated the Messianic hope, which he regards as the longing for a new political situation based on righteous principles. Next, after the return from the Exile, there was one homogeneous nation, one worship, one priesthood. All this brought into prominence the fact of Israel's separation from other nations—the righteous from the unrighteous. This idea was fostered by the observance of the Sabbath, and by abstinence from certain meats. Later, during the times of cruel oppression under Greek and Roman conquerors, God came to be regarded as the "God of Heaven," the pure one who can no longer dwell in this world of impurity. And still later, when an overgrowth of religious and ceremonial observances interfered with the performance of simple moral duties, men came to think it was all one *what* they did, provided they did something.

On coming to state his views concerning the position of Jesus in relation to the "Mosaic" Law, as thus briefly represented, the writer declines to follow Baur, Strauss, and Renan, who regard

Jesus primarily as a new moral teacher, and secondarily as Messiah; he prefers to follow Keim in regarding the position of Jesus towards the Law as dependent on his consciousness of Messiahship and Sonship. He maintains that "the whole force of the personal life of Jesus, and therewith also the moral principle working in it, is included in the Messianic consciousness of Jesus"; and again, "in the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, religion and morality are combined"; Jesus presented a "new moral principle."

Enough, perhaps, has been given to convey some idea of this work. The perusal is at least stimulating; one cannot proceed far without stopping to ask, What does this mean? or, Is this true?

JAMES KENNEDY.

**Quam notitiam linguæ Hebraicæ habuerint Christiani  
medii ævi temporibus in Gallia.**

*Autore Sam. Berger. Parisiis: apud Hachette et Socios, 1893.  
8vo, pp. xii. 60. Price, 3s.*

M. BERGER deserves the heartiest expression of gratitude in return for his invaluable monograph on Hebrew learning among French Christians during the Middle Ages. Such a work must certainly have been a labour of love; the time and labour spent in the preparation of this small but thorough treatise are incalculable. We may venture to affirm, however, that even the gathering of the material here presented in lucid and orderly form must have occupied many years. The treatise could have been produced only by a skilled worker of indomitable perseverance, accurate observation, and sound judgment.

Beginning with an account of the unknown author of the work *De Quaestionibus Hebraicis in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon*, and closing with a short notice of Nicolaus de Lyra, M. Berger presents us with a variety of most interesting information, arranged in separate chapters. These treat of the Pronunciation of the Hebrew Language, the Rendering of Hebrew Nouns, an almost forgotten Latin translation of the Old Testament made directly from the original in the thirteenth century—not to specify further the various biographical accounts of individuals more or less distinguished for their knowledge of Hebrew and for literary work connected with that language. The mere fact that most of the material here set before us has been derived from mediæval manuscripts, preserved in various libraries scattered through different parts of Europe, may lead us to form some idea of the difficulties to be overcome before these results could be obtained.

The Latinity is excellent; the typographical execution is all that could be desired.

JAMES KENNEDY.

## Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der Praktischen Theologie in gedrängter Darstellung.

Hrsg. von D. H. Hering. VII. Band. Pp. 272. Berlin: Reuther  
u. Reichard. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.  
Price, M. 4.

SEVERAL instalments of this new series have come to hand. Four belong to the seventh volume, which is to sketch the system of Church law for the Evangelical Church of Germany. The four instalments all but complete the volume as described in the prospectus. The author is Dr K. Köhler, a member of the Supreme Consistorial Court at Darmstadt. In the *prolegomena* he briefly discusses the nature of the Church, its relation to the Kingdom of God, the Catholic and Evangelical conceptions of the Church, national and State churches, and the essential function of the Church to edify herself. A basis is thus provided for the definition of Church law. It is the sum of the rules laid down by the Church for the guidance of her members in their common Church life, to which must be added any enactments on the part of the State determining the legal position of the Church. And its sources are to be found, not in Scripture or the Confessions, except in so far as they determine the nature and purpose of the Church, but in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, in ecclesiastical arrangements and regulations, in the laws of the German Empire or of particular States, and in long-established practice.

The main body of the work consists of five parts. The first gives an account of what the author understands by the German Evangelical Church, of the mutual relations of its parts, and of their relation to the State. The German Evangelical Church is a somewhat loose expression for all the Evangelical State Churches in the Empire, of which Dr Köhler enumerates nearly forty. Careful statements are given as to the position of congregations in the various churches, and as to the basis of church-membership with its duties and privileges. In expounding the relations of Church and State, occasion is taken to discriminate between "territorialism" which makes church-government a function of the State, and "collegiatism," which reaches the same practical result on the ground of an implied contract between the Church and the State. The latter is apparently preferred by the author, who sees that the day of "territorialism" is past, but thinks that history makes it impossible to accept the separation of Church and State. That would mean for the State a falling away from its high calling, and "for the Church the danger of serious confusion, because the historical preparation for a position resting entirely on private right is absolutely wanting." The first part closes with an Appendix on the relation of the Roman Church to the State in Germany. It is

provokingly summary with regard to the last twenty years. The second part deals with church-government. Dr Köhler has some difficulty in defining this part of his subject so as to exclude the pastor from any official claim to a share in it. He rightly rejects as unevangelical the "Catholicism" which would assign church-government to the clergy alone, but nothing could more clearly show how far the "Evangelical Church" has travelled from the Reformation point of view than Dr Köhler's not very convincing attempt to get rid of inconvenient passages in some of the sixteenth century documents, which undoubtedly assign to the clergy a share in the government of the Church. His account of church-government by the State is, that it is "no part of State power," nor is it any "Episcopal power," but it is "something annexed to State power connected therewith by positive law, yet undistinguishable from it though not comprehended in it by any inner necessity." The thing is evidently as difficult to describe as it is to justify. He argues that it has already become, and will more and more become, "a right of protection and review"; and he hopes it will continue so in order that the Church may be saved from the domination of party majorities, which, he says, is "inevitable in a thorough-going clerical or synodical government." It is hard to resist the conviction that a good deal of what the author has written on church-government is the product of prejudice rather than calm reason. And so we are not surprised to find that the universal priesthood of believers has, in his view, no bearing on questions of church-government. There are limits, however, to his defence of the existing state of matters. Patronage, for instance, is an anomaly. "Public rights in the possession of private individuals, though quite common in the Middle Ages, are for the present age an impossibility." Of the remaining parts not much need be said. They deal respectively with the clergy, the functions of the Church, and Church property. The general discussion of the clerical office makes it clear that the clergy have no jurisdiction, but are themselves subject to church-government, except in the cure of souls strictly defined. A clear account is given of what training is required for the office, of the means of obtaining an appointment, of ordination as admitting to office, and of the rights and duties appertaining to it; and note is taken of peculiarities connected with different parts of the Empire. The account of the functions of the Church sets forth the prevailing practices as regards baptism, catechising, confirmation, public worship, the Lord's Supper, marriage, burial, discipline, and charity. Altogether the book is very useful and interesting, but Dr Köhler is far too easily convinced about some things. It is too late to tell us, as he does without qualification, that the Catholic Church principle first finds expression in Ignatius. *Jus in sacra* is a serious misprint (p. 60).

JAMES ROBERTSON.

Notices.

*Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics, New Testament and Post-Apostolic*,<sup>1</sup> is the title given to the third and concluding volume of Dr James Macgregor's *System of Christian Apologetics*. Since the publication of this book the author has been removed by death, to the sorrow of many in Scotland and elsewhere who knew his great ability and valued him as a friend. Trained in the school of the strong, logical Theology of a former age, and gifted with a vigorous intellect, he was equalled by few either in acquaintance with the great system-builders of the seventeenth century, or in the power of handling difficult dogmatic questions. The present volume has all the characteristic qualities of the former two. It is conservative in spirit, discursive in method, abounding in things always racily told though often little relevant to the immediate object, and in its main propositions logically reasoned. It is lacking both in unity and in proportion. The first book is occupied with the New Testament itself, especially with Christ's own method, His appeal to prophecy, His use of Miracle, His personal testimony. This is followed by a similar study of the practice of the Apostles. In this connection, some very good things are said of the place occupied by Miracle in general, and the resurrection of Christ in particular, in the ministry of the Apostles, and also of the methods of defence adopted by Peter and Paul. The second book is given to a review of the two great periods of Apologetics—the Post-Apostolic and the Modern. A number of matters not very pertinent to the argument are dealt with in a series of Appendices. There is no lack of ability in the book. But on such subjects as Prophecy, and on Old Testament questions as a whole, its position is not that of the present day.

Dr Mair's *Studies in the Christian Evidences*<sup>2</sup> appears in a third edition, revised and enlarged. It consists of a series of papers which are intended to help intelligent members and adherents of the Church who may be vexed by certain difficulties of faith. From a Theistic foundation it aims at leading the earnest inquirer on to the central truths of the Gospel. It does this in a sober and careful way, touching on the relations between physical science and Christianity, and giving a very useful summary of the evidence for the authenticity of the New Testament writings. One of the best sections of the book is one which deals with the argument for the unique personality of Christ. The volume as a whole is well fitted

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Oamaru. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 370. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> By Alexander Mair, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 415. Price 6s.

to meet the needs of those to whom it is specially addressed, and deserves the success which has attended it.

Few English pastors can match Dr Dale in large and luminous statement of the doctrines of Christianity. In times when the current has been so much the other way, he has never been afraid to come before his people with the strong meat of Christian doctrine; and in the last book<sup>1</sup> which he has published, we see how he has been able to expound from the pulpit "in an orderly and systematic manner all the principal doctrines of the Christian faith." Happy are the people who receive such teaching and are trained to value it. Dr Dale has read largely and thought deeply on the great truths of the Christian Revelation. He has written one of the best books we possess on the Atonement; and in this volume we get the substance of his deepest thoughts and maturest preaching on the greatest subjects. One section of Christian doctrine is left undiscussed, that which includes the grave problems of the Last Things. Another, that to which Justification and the operation of Grace belong, is but partially considered; but on the Being of God, the Humanity and the Divinity of Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, Man, Sin, and the Atonement, Dr Dale discourses and reasons in a way befitting the majesty and moral magnitude of the themes. The book is a powerful, healthsome, bracing book, which should be read and read again.

Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis, to whose liberality and enterprise we are indebted for the discovery of the Syriac palimpsest, issues a translation of the text of the Codex.<sup>2</sup> The publication is a most timely one, and will be a material help to a proper estimate of the document. A short narrative is given of the circumstances of the discovery; the relation of this Codex to other Syriac Versions is considered; the manuscript is described; and some of its leading characteristics are stated. In order to increase the usefulness of the translation, marginal notes are given indicating those "variations from our English Authorised Version which have their equivalents either in the Revised Version, as substantially representing the testimony of the most ancient Greek manuscripts, in Cureton's MS., or in Codex Bezae as the chief representative of the Old Latin." It is of interest to see that Mrs Lewis's study of the Version leads her to conclude that it is not the work of a heretic, and that she inclines to understand the word *Mēpharrēshē* (in the sentence "here endeth the Gospel of the *Mēpharrēshē* four books"), as meaning "of the interpreters" or "translators," although she does not regard the

<sup>1</sup> Christian Doctrine: A Series of Discourses. By R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 329. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest. London: Macmillan. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 239. Price, 6s. net.

question as settled. Together with Mrs Lewis's translation we have the Syriac text itself, published in splendid form by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.<sup>1</sup> The text is reproduced as edited by the late Professor Bensley, Mr J. Rendel Harris, and Mr F. Crawford Burkitt. It could not be in better hands. The value of the publication is increased by an Introduction from Mrs Lewis's pen, and by some valuable notes, tables, and facsimiles. Students have now the means of examining the text for themselves, and of forming their own conclusions. It is premature to hazard any very decided opinion upon many questions suggested by it. It certainly represents an old text, perhaps an older form of the Old Syriac than Cureton's. But even this has to be further verified, and other questions, such as that touching its relation to the Diatessaron, require to be more carefully thought out. Many of its readings are of great interest, above all that in Matthew i. 16. Discussion has naturally centred for the time in this last, and some very hasty opinions have been emitted. Except by some *tour de force*, which would be a practical surrender of scientific principle, and of the value of objective evidence in matters of Textual Criticism, it is impossible to rid the Codex either of the strange reading in Matthew i. 16, or of the testimony elsewhere borne by its text to the supernatural birth of our Lord. To urge, as some do, that the uncertain and divided voice of this one manuscript, which at its best is the voice of an indirect witness, shall overbear the consentient testimony of our oldest direct witnesses is an extraordinary position to assume. The peculiarity of reading in the verse referred to has its explanation, perhaps in the ideas of generations which prevailed in those times, as has been suggested, perhaps in the fact that the genealogies were taken precisely as they stood in the public registers, perhaps in something else. It is much too soon to commit oneself to a positive opinion. The manuscript must first be much more thoroughly studied, and the questions of its date, character (whether heretical or otherwise), and relations to other texts, much more patiently thought out. Meantime, we owe much to those who have put the materials into our hands.

The issue of a new and cheaper edition of Hermann Lotze's *Microcosmos*<sup>2</sup> is a real boon both to students of philosophy and to students of theology. This fourth edition is in every respect complete as regards contents. It is produced in a very handsome form, and its price is less by one-third than that of previous editions. It is a work of supererogation to speak at this date of the importance

<sup>1</sup> The Four Gospels in Syriac. Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. xlvi. 318. Price, 24s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 714, and x. 740. Price, 24s.

of a book which has taken so high a place in philosophical literature, and to which many thinkers confess themselves debtors. It is a great book, full of strong and elevated thinking on nature, the soul, life, man, and God, which neither theologian nor philosopher can safely neglect. It has also the advantage of appearing in a trustworthy and readable translation.

Two interesting volumes come from Dr Alexander Whyte. One of these is a Lecture on *Jacob Behmen*,<sup>1</sup> the working shoemaker, whom Dr Whyte classes as "the greatest of the mystics and the father of German philosophy." A very vivid account is given of Behmen's life, his spiritual experiences, and his theological ideas. The man and his teaching are both subjects which at once fascinate and puzzle the student. They have deeply influenced many theologians of the first order, among others the late Professor Franz Delitzsch. As in the case of others of the great mystics, there were two sides to Behmen's doctrine, one of which is of doubtful value and of very mixed character. Dr Whyte gives an excellent appreciation of the better side, and does ample justice to the deep, devout spirit and extraordinary genius of this strange seventeenth century seer. He does it all with the fervour of one in full sympathy with the mind revealed in Behmen's writings. The other volume is on *Samuel Rutherford and some of his Correspondents*.<sup>2</sup> It consists of a series of Lectures delivered in St George's Free Church, Edinburgh, and is on the same plan as the author's well-known *Bunyan Characters*. Dr Whyte could have no more congenial subject, and this book will rank with the best things he has written. Nothing could be more just or more telling than his estimate of Rutherford in all the strange and almost contradictory qualities that met in the man, the pastor, and the theologian. The sketches of the Correspondents, the Gordons of Cardoness, Marion M'Naught, Lady Kenmure, Lady Culross, Lady Boyd, and others, are done in attractive literary form, and with a fine insight into different types of character and experience.

It was a happy inspiration that moved Mr Jolly to prepare his volume on Ruskin's ideas of *Education*.<sup>3</sup> As one who has long held the position of one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and who at the same time has been a diligent and appreciative student of Ruskin, Mr Jolly has peculiar qualifications for such a task, and he has produced a book that is full of fruitful and fertile reflections.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 86. Price, 1s. 3d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 221. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Ruskin on Education. Some needed but neglected Elements restated and reviewed. By William Jolly. London: George Allen. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 167. Price, 2s. net.

His object is to draw attention to certain general principles and aims which require more attention than they receive in our present educational system. He regards Mr Ruskin's views on the subject as something very different from the impracticable and eccentric "counsels of perfection" which they are often supposed to be; and with wise skill he culls from the great critic's extensive writings the passages which best express his conceptions of an ideal education. These are given under the three great divisions of the *General Principles of Education*, the *Training of Taste in Schools*, and *Moral Education in Schools*. Mr Jolly's own statements, accompanying and expounding Ruskin's teaching, are not the least valuable parts of the volume. They deserve the attention of all who have a wish to secure a place for the highest elements of intellectual, æsthetic, and moral training in our educational system.

Dr Robson's *The Holy Spirit the Paraclete*<sup>1</sup> gives a series of ten instructive chapters on a section of Christian doctrine on which there is ample room for restatement and further study. The book opens with a consideration of the general position occupied by the two Paracletes, Christ and the Holy Spirit, in the teaching of the New Testament. It then passes on to examine in succession the doctrine of the personality of the Spirit, His work in Creation, in Christ, and in the World, the new birth, the baptism of the Spirit, and the conditions of receiving the Spirit. The concluding chapters deal with what the New Testament says of the *eternal sin*, and with the question of the inspiration of the Bible. The broad lines of New Testament teaching on these important and difficult topics are drawn out with much care, and a general view is given of the magnitude of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Special attention may be called to what is said of man's Sonship; of the Christian view of Sin as illustrated by Hinduism; of the relation between the Biblical doctrine of Creation and the theory that denies successive acts in the Creative process; and of the Biblical view of the immanence and transcendence of God.

Dr A. B. Davidson completes his *Introductory Hebrew Grammar* by the publication of his *Hebrew Syntax*.<sup>2</sup> It consists, in part, of notes which he has been in the habit of using with his own classes. In form, statement of principles and rules, and selection of illustrative examples, it has all the advantage therefore of the results of long experience in the actual work of teaching. A book like this, which comes from the hand of our first Hebraist, is its own best

<sup>1</sup> A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Man. By the Rev. John Robson, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 248. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. x. 233. Price, 7s 6d.

commendation. It will be eagerly welcomed by all students and teachers of Hebrew.

Much attention has been given of late to the study of the Grammar of New Testament Greek. Viteau's French treatise is but one of several tokens of re-awakened interest in this subject. Professor Schmiedel's eighth and thoroughly revised edition of Winer, of which one part has come to hand, promises much.<sup>1</sup> And we have now the pleasure of noticing a second revised and enlarged edition of Burton's *Syntax*,<sup>2</sup> a book that reflects credit on the scholarship of the University of Chicago. Professor Burton's treatise is one of great merit—one of the very best books indeed on its subject. It has also a character of its own. Its main purpose is to "contribute to the interpretation of the New Testament by the exposition of the functions of the verb in New Testament Greek, so far as these functions are expressed by the distinctions of moods and tenses." So far, therefore, it resembles Professor Driver's well-known contribution to the Syntax of the Hebrew verb. Its chief interest is not historical or philological, but exegetical grammar. It has a precision and scientific quality which made it a most valuable addition to our grammatical literature.

Dr W. T. Davison of Handsworth has followed up his attractive volume on *The Praises of Israel* by another equally attractive on *The Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament*.<sup>3</sup> These are among the best contributions to the series of *Books for Bible Students* edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. An introductory chapter explains the place and genius of the Wisdom books in Hebrew literature. Four excellent chapters are then given to *Job*, four to *Proverbs*, two to *Ecclesiastes*, and one to the *Song of Songs*. In each case we have a very clear statement of the contents, and general character of the book, and a concise summary of the leading views which have been taken of its scope and teaching. The chapters on *Job* are specially valuable, giving a well-considered account of its literary style, the debated questions of age and authorship, the problem with which it grapples, and the solution which it offers. The limits under which light could come to *Job*, under conditions which did not open to him the moral redress and compensations of a future world, are appropriately recognised and clearly stated.

<sup>1</sup> B. Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms. I. Theil: Einleitung und Formenlehre. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. pp. xvi. 144. Price, M. 2.60.

<sup>2</sup> Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek. By Ernest De Witt Burton. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. xix. 215. Price, 5s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 311. Price, 2s. 6d.

A volume on *John the Baptist*<sup>1</sup> is contributed by the Rev. J. Feather to the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes*. In some things we could wish fuller and more definite statements than the writer gives. His expositions of the Sonship of Christ, and the nature of John's baptism, for example, are less complete than they might be. But he gives a good general view of the Baptist and his work, and touches the main points very sensibly. The style is forcible and often picturesque. This appears in the headings of the chapters. They are such as these—"The Thought that Breathes," "The Word that Burns," "On the Steep Slope," "Over the Precipice," "Jesus and Nemesis," &c. The book is a very readable one.

The latest addition to the series of *Guild Text Books* comes from Canada, and has for its subject *The Religions of the World*.<sup>2</sup> The author does not, of course, attempt to overtake the immense field indicated by the title. He confines his attention to the four systems of Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Here and there we come upon a statement which goes beyond what the present state of knowledge really warrants. In the sketch of Confucianism, for example, the story of the meeting between Confucius and Lao-tse is given, which is now doubted or discredited by our best sinologues. It is not to be expected, however, that every statement made in any book on these vast and difficult themes should be beyond challenge, and Principal Grant's volume is packed with good matter, carefully digested and clearly stated. It represents extensive and appreciative study of these great systems, and furnishes a generally correct and attractive account of their leading features.

Professor Swete and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press are to be congratulated on the completion of their edition of the *Septuagint*.<sup>3</sup> The third volume contains the books from Hosea to Fourth Maccabees, and brings to a successful conclusion an important enterprise commenced in 1883, of which the first volume was published in 1887, and the second in 1891. We have already spoken of the general principles on which this edition has been prepared, and the manuscripts which have been employed. It is enough to say now that a great boon is conferred upon students by this publication, and that this edition is likely to remain for long

<sup>1</sup> The Last of the Prophets: A Study of the Life, Teaching and Character of John the Baptist. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 157. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> By G. M. Grant, D.D., Principal, Queen's University, Canada. London: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. viii. 137. Price, 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Septuagint. Edited, for the Syndics of the University Press, by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D. Vol. III. Cambridge: University Press. 8vo, pp. xix. 879. Price, 7s. 6d.

the best manual edition of the Greek Septuagint. The great Vatican Codex is used again for the text of the Prophets, while, for the Books of Maccabees (for which that manuscript is not available), the Codex Alexandrinus has been followed. Other manuscripts have been used throughout wherever it has been possible to use them,  $\aleph$  and others for the Prophets, the Sinaitic and the Venetus for Maccabees. The *Psalms of Solomon* are given at the end of the volume, according to the text of a Vatican Codex collated by Klostermann of Kiel.

We have also to hand a second and enlarged edition of the Rev. Alexander Brown's treatise on *The Great Day of the Lord*,<sup>1</sup> a book which advocates, indeed, a method of interpretation in our opinion too limited to cover the general New Testament doctrine of the End, but which gives the results of a thoroughly independent study, is written with much vigour, and is to be welcomed, as all honest attempts to set old opinions in new lights should be welcomed.

Mr Myer's book on *Scarabs*<sup>2</sup> contains great wealth of curious and interesting matter on the history and symbolism of the Scarabæus. The strength of the volume is naturally given to the place of the Scarab in the customs and religion of the Egyptians, but we get also much interesting information about its place and use among the Phœnicians, the Etruscans, and other ancient peoples. There are chapters, too, on the manufacture of the symbol, the methods of engraving it, and modern forgeries of it. A detailed account is furnished of the various modes in which it was worn, and the places in which it is usually found. Its religious significance in connection with the whole Egyptian idea of man and his future, is carefully stated, and relevant passages are given from the *Book of the Dead*, M. Paul Pierret's edition being used for the purpose. The Book is full of interest throughout, and furnishes an account of the Egyptian doctrine of immortality which it is both profitable and pleasant to read.

Two volumes of the *Biblical Illustrator* are given to the *Epistle to the Romans*.<sup>3</sup> They provide the reader with a digest of the best homiletical literature on the greatest of all Paul's Epistles. The expository and illustrative matter is drawn from an immense variety of sources, and is, as a whole, wisely selected. The eighth chapter is done with special care, all due attention being given to its great doctrinal statements, and to the various ways in which these have been handled by preachers and interpreters of different schools.

It is with a pathetic interest that we open the pages of a new

<sup>1</sup> London : Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 403.

<sup>2</sup> By Isaac Myer, LL.B., Member of the American Oriental Society. London : D. Nutt. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 177. Price, 12s. net.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Rev. Joseph S. Ezell, M.A. London : Nisbet & Co. 8vo, Vol. I., pp. 718 ; Vol. II., pp. 780. Price, 7s. 6d. each.

edition of the late Professor W. Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*.<sup>1</sup> We are reminded of the loss which the all too early death of the gifted author means for Hebrew Scholarship, and especially for the study of the origins of religious beliefs and customs. With deep regret we think of the light which might have been cast on the great question of the belief in a future life by the prolonged researches and scientific inquiries embodied in the later series of Burnett Lectures, now, alas! beyond the reach of the publisher. But we are thankful to have this new edition of the First Series as revised by Professor Smith himself. The volume, so patiently worked over by the author, has also had the benefit of the careful editing of his friend the Rev. Dr Sutherland Black. In these Lectures as they now stand, we have Professor Smith's final words on the fundamental institutions in the Semitic religions. They deal with the nature of the religious community, the relations between the gods and their worshippers, holy places in their relations to God and to man, holy waters, trees, caves, stones, and sacrifices. There seems to be no material change in Professor Smith's general conception of the growth of Semitic belief, worship, and institution. At many points of his argument, however, things are revised, stated in fresh ways, and brought up to the standard of the latest scholarship. Nothing bearing on the subject in hand escapes the author's eye. Illustrations of his thesis and facts in support of it are collected from every possible quarter, so that the argument has more and more the appearance of a solid structure carefully built up of a multitude of littles. The most important, as well as the most novel, thing in these Lectures is, of course, the account which they give of the origin and development of sacrifice. This is bound up with the Totemistic theory, the tribal character of early Semitic religion, and other things on which the last word is far from having been said. It gives up the explanation of animal sacrifices among the Semites which has contented most, and interprets them not as gifts to the gods but as acts of communion in which gods and worshippers together partake of the flesh and blood of a victim. The theory of sacrifice as originating in a community between gods and men represented by a common meal, and as developing from that into the later forms, piacular and other, is worked out in these Lectures with a skill which goes far to convince. It has much to commend it; it has also difficulties and uncertainties of which it can scarcely be said to be as yet relieved. But Professor Robertson Smith has given it a reasonableness and a cohesion which must henceforth make it a theory to reckon with.

Dr H. Clay Trumbull, favourably known in England by his books on *Kadesh-Barnea* and the *Blood-Covenant*, adds to his re-

<sup>1</sup> London: A. & C. Black. 8vo, pp. xiv. 507. Price, 15s. net.

putation by the publication of his *Studies in Oriental Social Life*.<sup>1</sup> The volume is large, beautifully printed, and full of interesting and profitable matter. It differs from many other books of the same kind in being a "classified treatment of certain phases of Oriental life and methods of thought, verified by personal experiences in the East." In this respect it claims to have a distinctive character, and the claim is a just one. The subjects specially dealt with are the customs and ideas connected in the East with betrothals, weddings, mourning, funerals, hospitalities, ways, prayers and praying, food, the paternal relation, healing, gold and silver, pilgrimages. On all these the author speaks of what he has himself had abundant opportunity of observing. His descriptions are vivid. They light up many a passage in Scripture, and give a new force to incident, parable, and miracle. There are also instructive chapters on Jacob's Well, the lessons of the Wilderness, and the Voice of the Forerunner. Nor should we omit mention of an account of the Samaritan Passover and a visit to Gerizim, which adds to the value of an ably written and most useful volume.

Both Dr Maclaren himself and his large circle of readers are to be congratulated on the completion of a contribution to the Expositor's Bible on which he has been at work for some time. The third volume of his *Book of Psalms*,<sup>2</sup> embracing Psalms xc.-cl., yields to neither of the former two in general merit, while it follows the same method and aims at the same object. In this volume, as in the others, there are some Psalms, such as the xc., ciii., cxvi., which are peculiarly germane to Dr Maclaren's genius, and they are nobly dealt with. All through the volume we have strong, terse, pointed, sympathetic exposition, practical in its spirit and aim, but based none the less on exact scientific study.

*Clerical Life and Work*<sup>3</sup> is a collection of sermons with an Essay by the late Canon Liddon. The sermons cover a period of forty years, and a good many of them have been published before. Those in charge of the late Canon's affairs have done well, however, to republish these discourses. Their intrinsic value is by no means slight, and they show the great preacher in one of his most attractive relations. They help us to understand how faithfully he dealt with the clergy, how high an estimate he had of the office of preacher and pastor, and with what pains he prepared himself and taught others to prepare themselves for the sacred duties of the pulpit. They abound in grave and weighty counsels.

Under the title of *Psalms-Mosaics*,<sup>4</sup> the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia: Wattles & Co. 8vo, pp. xviii. 437. Price, \$2.50.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 461. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. 377. Price, 5s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. vi. 589. Price, 10s. 6d.

Chaplain in H.M. Indian Service, adds another to a class of books of which we have had several of late years. There is a place for this one among others, and it has features of its own. It is a "biographical and historical commentary on the Psalms," in the form of a collection of incidents, emotions, and experiences connected with the Psalms or illustrative of them. Its materials are drawn from many centuries, and from the records of men of all varieties of Christian mood and character. They are well selected, and, as a general rule, appropriate to the passage. The book is a good contribution to a kind of study which is far from being exhausted.

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## History of Dogma.

*By Adolf Harnack: translated from third German Edition by Neil Buchanan. Williams & Norgate, 1894. [Theological Translation Library.] Volume I. 8vo, pp. xxii. 364. Price, 10s. 6d.*

FEW books deserve better to be translated than Harnack's History. This volume contains about one-half of the matter covered by the first volume of the original. It does not carry us very far, for (barring the supplementary chapter on Jewish Christianity) it ends with Marcion. But the Prolegomena are very full; and in these, and also in the opening chapters of Book I., the reader finds himself in the thick of questions which Harnack as a student of doctrine and of history thinks himself concerned to press; — questions which the reader, too, must think of, if he is to accompany Harnack down the stream of history. Some of this matter, it has been maintained, might have been left out; and so it might, but not by Harnack. And as Harnack's view is worth reckoning with, and he must take his own way of stating it, no space is wasted after all. Of the actual history we have here the chapters on the Gnostics and on Marcion. They are very good specimens of the way in which ancient thinking is made alive again in Harnack's hands.

Harnack is a very clever and a very learned man, but he is more; one can claim for him something akin to genius. At all events his learning down to its finest fibres is animated by extraordinary vitality. He is constitutionally alert and inquisitive; and a profound interest in the problems of Christian history intensifies his scrutiny. Naturally, therefore, his historical work connects itself with decided convictions of his own about the Christian religion. These may render impartiality a more difficult task for him, but on the other hand they put great life into his cross-questioning of the ancient words and deeds. He possesses a fine power of interpreting and combining facts, as well as of divining the actual movements of human minds presupposed by the formulas which seem now so flat and dead. He has been fortunate in falling on an age remarkable for discoveries, or recoveries, of lost documents. These have given him special opportunities. Now and then his brilliant gifts, or his favourite theories, have led him into audacities of historical speculation in which he has not been generally followed. But no real student will deny that he is a man of very fine powers, who has shed unexpected light on many aspects of the great field he cultivates. The work before us is that into which, more than into any hitherto published,

he has put his whole thoughts about Christianity as a historical religion. In constructing his representation and criticism of the process by which Christian doctrines came to be, he discloses his own thoughts of Christ, and of the Christian faith. It need not be concealed that, having his own system, he desires, as far as he fairly may, to have the verdict of history on his side. If this makes it difficult for a writer to hold the balance even, one can say that at least Dr Harnack is well aware of the moral condition set for him as a historian. "Historical study," he says in his interesting preface, "is an ethical task. The historian ought to be faithful in every sense of the word; whether he has been so or not is the question on which his readers have to decide." Moreover, the best we can look for in reference to any historian, is that the possible causes of bias should be declared and allowed for. That is substantially Harnack's case; though probably there are English readers to whom this will not be so obvious as it may be presumed to be in Germany.

Probably, then, the best service one can do is to note Harnack's point of view; for this explains at the same time his conception of the History of Dogma. Only let it not be thought that Harnack's book is a long argument in behalf of a theory. He has a theory, and it comes in where it may or must come in. But the objective historical treatment which a student wants is steadily aimed at. The point of view, however, is the most convenient and useful subject of comment.

First of all it may be well to note that for the purpose of his history, Harnack takes dogma in a special sense. He distinguishes Dogma from doctrine, in so far as doctrine may be propounded by any Christian, but Dogma is doctrine which the Church lays down, and which she lays down as essential, pertaining to the basis of faith, life, and fellowship. Harnack lays stress on the point for this reason partly: he wishes to show that when doctrine assumes the character of dogma it begins to occupy a new place, and to operate in quite a new way on the very processes to which it owes its own formation. Passing this, it may be asked if dogma is taken in the sense indicated, what lines of historical investigation will it be found to suggest or demand? According to Harnack formation of dogma, in the full and strict sense, is found in the early, chiefly in the Greek, Church during several centuries. In the Church of Rome we find it with an altered significance; but subject to that modification the formation has been going on down to our own day. In Protestantism, if formation of dogma can be recognised at all, it ceased soon after the Reformation. Abundance of interesting suggestion is connected with all this. But most men will feel, probably, that Harnack has entangled himself at the outset in speculations which embarrass the reader, and by which, in

the end, he has not himself been able to abide. The reader feels as if he were being committed beforehand to questionable views of history; and as for Harnack himself the conscience and the sympathies of the historian break through the limits he has prescribed. One does not see why he should not have defined his subject as a history of doctrine with special reference to the authoritative teaching of the Church or the Churches.

The first edition of the first volume (German) gave the impression in various quarters that Harnack regarded the whole dogmatic development as resulting from an entanglement of Christianity with the Greek mind and with the general culture of the Roman world,—an entanglement which simply burdened Christianity with alien material. In this view the doctrinal result was wholly foreign, and could only survive for a time, although the time has proved long. In the later editions Harnack repudiates this as a misconstruction of his meaning. He accepts (with a caveat) Weizsäcker's *dictum*, "Christianity as religion is absolutely inconceivable without theology. . . . As a religion it cannot be separated from the religion of its founder, hence not from historical knowledge: and as Monotheism and belief in a world purpose, it is the religion of reason, with the inextinguishable impulse of thought." The objection, Harnack now says, is "not to all dogma, but to this dogma," and in conformity with this view some passages are inserted into text and notes to redress the balance. But the drift of the book follows the original impulse, embodied for example in p. 18. Here, it is said, that two things may be regarded as legitimate—on the one hand practical faith in the Gospel, on the other, the historic-critical account of the Christian religion and its history. But a third element has been thrust in, viz., "dogma, that is, the philosophical means used in early times for the purpose of making the gospel intelligible, has been fused with the contents of the gospel and raised to dogma." In this last sentence three things come in view together—the doctrinal formula, the intellectual method by which it was reached (say, *e.g.*, by Origen), and the peremptory ecclesiastical inculcation of it. But formula, method, and authorisation are all alike turned out of doors as intruders, though one would say that very different considerations apply to the three respectively.

Now it is a most legitimate historical question, how far the doctrines which found acceptance among the Christians during the first five or six centuries, fairly expressed the Christian Revelation, and how far elements were admitted due to erroneous methods, or to ignorance of the limits within which any methods are trustworthy. It is very fair to expect that the thinking of the early Christians, in its best forms, might bear marks of the perennial

weakness of man, and of the special infirmities of the age. But Dr Harnack designates the Gnostic movement as the "acute" secularisation and Hellenisation, and then the whole theological movement, up to Nicaea and beyond, is the "gradual" secularisation and Hellenisation of the Church. When he does this, does he not suggest that it was all, a perhaps natural, perhaps pardonable, perhaps inevitable acceptance of alien influence, but still an acceptance of alien influence, and a succumbing to it? Now why? Why, because the Church, which had to think, put in play the best methods of thought then existing anywhere in the world, and did the best she could with them. Probably the methods were imperfect; probably also the Church's thinking would not have been perfect, even if the methods had been better. But is it not likely also that the Church, providentially placed in those circumstances, did think to *some* good purpose? At any rate does history gain by a representation which suggests that there was some alternative course open? There was none. It is easy to conceive that the Church might have thought and acted more worthily than she did. But it is inconceivable and untrue that she could have any right to decline to use human thought in the best methods of it which the world had seen. It will be said then, perhaps, that the fault lies here:—The Church not only thought in Greek forms, but borrowed the results of extra Christian Greek speculation and turned that into Christian dogma. One replies, suppose that more or less of this might possibly befall, still, is this the main and characteristic account of the formation of early Christian dogma? And this brings us to the point.

Harnack is a disciple of Ritschl; one, indeed, who accents rather assuages his master's peculiarities. Ritschl, it may be said in passing, was no unfit master for one who is a great historian. He himself had remarkable historical aptitudes, disclosed, perhaps, in the second edition of the *Alt-katholische Kirche* more than in his more laborious history of the Doctrine of Atonement. Waiving much explanation, one may summarily say that Ritschl and his followers found reason for limiting strictly the field of possible Christian knowledge, and of possible revelation. For example, as to the Saviour, what any Christian at any time has really *known* is that Jesus lived in a moral unity with God, of a wonderful and unique quality, and crowned that life by His death: that He preached and founded the Kingdom of God in which a new consciousness of God's love was to give a new meaning to human life: that He proved able, and proves able still, to inspire into men the convictions and the impulses which His own life embodied; and that a life was realised in Him, and is made possible to believers, in which this refractory and stubborn world is overcome; for all its experiences become subservient to a spiritual faith and to spiritual aims. This

is, of course, a bare statement; and however one may differ, it is not intended to suggest that the motives and the mood which characterise the school are to be treated otherwise than respectfully and thoughtfully. But the result is this—the first disciples knew what in substance has now been suggested, so have all true disciples since. Christ's life and words have made so much credible to them, and so much has been practically verified. But beyond this one does not *know*. Speculation beyond this as to who and what Christ was, either should not exist, or at least should not claim to be Christian truth. If any members of the School do not draw this conclusion, it is not wronging Harnack to say that he does.

Now the question of the early ages was the question of Christ, who and what He was. The movements of thoughts upon that question occupy the larger part of Harnack's history, and are very instructively reproduced. For Harnack is never supercilious, and never careless. Still, for him, all these developments up to Nicaea, or rather up to Chalcedon and beyond, were a mistake. Those, indeed, whom he calls Adoptionists (others call them dynamical Monarchians—Paul of Samosata may serve for a specimen) were upon a track of truth which might have been successfully followed up. But all forms of Logos doctrine, every doctrine, indeed, which ascribes to Christ subsistence in a higher nature before He appeared on earth, is inadmissible, and has led to self-contradiction. Yet, it may be said in passing, the reader will not readily find a more appreciative estimate of the service which Athanasius rendered to Christianity than that which Harnack supplies.<sup>1</sup> Assume that the Logos doctrine must be present in some form, then the Athanasian form is that which saves the great Christian interests. But the assumption itself is the questionable element. The whole story therefore is the working out through ages of a fundamental mistake. It is not merely that the dogma was too confidently handled, too dialectically discussed, too peremptorily imposed, allowed too much to supplant and replace faith, or works, or worship. That in it which was reckoned most fundamental and most important was wrong all through.

Once more, if the Ritschlian canon as to the limits of possible or knowable truth is to prevail, then the chief New Testament writers, Paul, John, the writer to the Hebrews—are in the wrong no less than Irenaeus and Athanasius. For they have all asserted the pre-existent glory of Christ. Accordingly it has to be shown how they first went astray. It has to be shown that this pre-existence is an idea which innocently enough grew up in all their minds—innocently enough, but in such a way as to deprive the idea of authority, and to annul its claim to be part of genuine Christian-

<sup>1</sup> In a chapter not yet translated.

ity. Harnack's case on this point is in the appendix on Pre-existence in the volume before us. Briefly, these apostles dwelt on Christ as specially foreordained, and gradually that thought solidified, as it were, into the ascription to him of pre-existence. Harnack then may say what he will about Hellenising; but to these Biblical writers the misleading influence must be traced. It would be unjust to pretend to discuss this theory on so meagre a statement of it. But probably the reader will consider whether the matter was not too weighty, the time for gradual self-deception too short, the men concerned too many and of too sane a judgment, to comport with such a solution. He may as well remember also that if an angel from heaven were to preach the doctrine of pre-existence to a consistent follower of Ritschl, that angel would be sent about his business, with the information that his theory of knowledge was wrong, and that he ought to keep clear of metaphysics.

But one would not like to pass from this without reminding our readers that some followers of Ritschl, while they appear to be precluded from saying more of Christ, than that He was a man in the most intimate moral relations with God, still seem to retain a profound impression of the unique character of His interposition as the sole revealer of the Father, ascribe to Him a most wonderful significance for men, and contrive to gather round Him vivid impressions of reconciliation, redemption, and victory. One would think that if they have no more to *say* of Christ, they must yet feel that an unspoken and undreamt of wonder lies behind what they claim to know, and feel free to say. Whether this richness of professed faith and experience can long continue to ally itself with so meagre a doctrinal scheme is quite another question. But, meanwhile, one may gladly acknowledge the case as it stands. And in Harnack's case, this can be said, at all events, that he betrays no wish to conceal anything in the history which suggests the unique character and the unique power of Christ. We are not probably to ascribe to Harnack the religious glow of Hermann. Still, passages like the following, are interesting.

"Men had met with Jesus, and in Him had found the Messiah. . . . There was no hope that did not seem to be certified in Him, no lofty idea which had not become in Him a living reality. Everything a man possessed was offered to Him. He was everything lofty that could be imagined. *Everything that can be said of Him was already said in the first two generations after His appearance.* Nay, more, he was felt to be the ever-living one, Lord of the world and operative principle of one's own life. 'To me to live is Christ.' He is the way, the truth, and the life. One could now for the first time be certain of the resurrection and the eternal life; and with that certainty, the sorrows of the world melted as mist

before the sun, and the residue of this present time became as a day. The group of facts which the history of the Gospel thus discloses in the world, is at the same time the highest and the most unique of all that we meet in that history ; it is its seal, and distinguishes the Gospel from all other universal religions. Where in the history of mankind shall we find anything resembling this, that men who had eaten and drunk with their Master should glorify Him, not only as the revealer of God, but as the Prince of Life, as the Redeemer and Judge of the world, as the living power of its existence ; and that a choir of Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians, wise and foolish, should, along with them, immediately confess that out of the fulness of this one man they have received grace for grace ?" p. 76.

Our notice has dealt mainly with one point, to be aware of which, is useful to the student. We repeat, however, that while this point of view is the key to much, Harnack's pages are by no means filled with debate on that point. Mainly they are occupied with a keen and instructive scrutiny of facts and forces. Most of those who follow his teaching will be conscious, we think, of a fine sincerity of mind, which contributes in quite a special way to the worth of the book. We would point, for instance, to his study of Augustine, which will appear in a future volume. It is not quite easy reading. It is confessedly imperfect—a series of attempts, from various sides, to get into the heart of Augustine's contribution to the life and thought of the Church. And yet, just because it is confessedly tentative and approximate, it leaves on the mind a far more effective impression—though, on some sides, a vague impression—of what Augustine was, than if Harnack had pretended to take his measure, and to delineate it in definite and confident outlines.

The translation is good. The German rhythm of Harnack is not always replaced by the rhythm of native English style. It is certainly difficult to do this in translation without taking too much liberty with the sense. But the book is creditably free from the barbarisms so common in translations, and can be read with pleasure.

ROBERT RAINY.

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## Lex Mosaica ; or, The Law of Moses and the Higher Criticism.

*With an Introduction by the late Right Reverend Lord Arthur Hervey, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells. Edited by Richard Valpy French, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1894. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 652. Price, 15s.*

THE essays contained in this volume are the work of fourteen writers, of whom the Editor is one. The subjects are as follows : —(1) *The Archaeological Witness to the Literary Activity of the Mosaic Age*, by Professor A. H. Sayce. (2) *Moses, the Author of the Levitical Code of Laws*, by Canon Rawlinson. (3) *The Deuteronomical Code*, by Principal G. C. M. Douglas. (4) *The Period of Joshua*, by Canon Girdlestone. (5) *The Period of the Judges*, by Dr R. Valpy French. (6) *The Times of Samuel and Saul*, by the Rev. J. J. Lias. (7) *The Period of David and Solomon*, by Dr F. Watson. (8) *The Northern Kingdom*, by Dr J. Sharpe. (9) *The History of the Southern Kingdom in relation to the Law of Moses*, by the Rev. A. Stewart. (10) *The Eighth Century*, by Professor Stanley Leathes. (11) *The Seventh Century*, by Dr R. Sinker. (12) *Ezekiel and the Priestly School*, by the Rev. F. E. Spencer. (13) *The Post-exilic Period*, by Professor R. Watts. (14) *Summary*, by Dr H. Wace.

The book makes a distinct claim to be taken seriously. It professes to refute the theories of modern Biblical critics by an impartial examination of evidence. "We appeal," says the Editor in the Preface, "to the same documents as our opponents. We believe that our opponents are equally with ourselves desirous to arrive at truth." These are fair words, but their value is considerably diminished by certain passages which occur later on. Thus, to cite one instance out of many, the Rev. Alexander Stewart says in his attack upon Wellhausen (p. 361), "Such treatment of evidence indicates neither reason nor reverence ; but it indicates more respect for a theory than for truth." Perhaps Mr Stewart may be right, but, if so, what becomes of the authors of *Lex Mosaica*, whose love of truth, as they themselves inform us, is on a level with that of their opponents ?

The first essay, by Professor Sayce, differs in a very marked manner from the others. The opinions of Professor Sayce on Biblical Criticism are well known from his works, in particular from his book on "The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments" (the first edition of which was published little more than a year ago). The views concerning the Pentateuch there

expressed hardly differ at all from those of critics like Professor Driver, as that scholar himself remarked in the *Contemporary Review*, March 1894, p. 409. In the volume before us there is nothing to indicate that Professor Sayce has altered his opinion during the last few months, and one cannot therefore help feeling that his essay comes in somewhat incongruously. The facts which he labours to demonstrate are, for the most part, such as have long been fully admitted by Biblical critics of every school. That the art of writing, for example, was practised both in Egypt and in Babylonia many centuries before the time of Moses is universally recognised. Yet Professor Sayce seems to regard this as a new revelation, which it is his especial duty to proclaim to the world (p. 8). Nothing that he has to say about the matter is at all relevant to the subject of the book. He argues, with some vehemence, that the Israelites, at the time of the Exodus, *must* have practised the art of writing. "To admit," he says, "that the Israelites were once in Egypt, and yet to deny them a knowledge of letters at the time when they fled from it, may be consonant with the principles of the 'higher criticism'; it is certainly not consonant with the principles of probability and common sense" (p. 11). It does not seem to have occurred to Professor Sayce that before he decided the question in this confident manner, it would have been well for him to open his eyes and to ascertain how far, at the present day, the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes on the borders of Egypt and Palestine possess a knowledge of literature. That they have long been in contact with civilized nations is certain, and it must also be remembered that their language is substantially the same as that of the settled population, which was hardly the case with the Israelites in Egypt. Yet it is notorious that these tribes have imbibed scarcely any literary culture; as for writing histories and law-books, Professor Sayce will possibly have some difficulty in pointing to anything that they have achieved in that department. And even if it were proved that here the ancient Israelites differed altogether from the modern Bedouins, we should still be no nearer the solution of the question as to the origin of the Pentateuch.

"But the Oriental archæologist," continues Professor Sayce, "can go yet further, and point out passages in the Pentateuch which imply the use of documents of the age of Moses. Let us take, for example, the list of the descendants of Ham in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Canaan is here made the brother of Mizraim, or Egypt. Now this was true only during the continuance of the Egyptian Empire, when Canaan was a province of Egypt. After the death of Ramses II. Canaan and Mizraim became strangers one to another; the relationship described in Genesis represented an order of things which passed away after the age of the Exodus. It was

a relationship which could not have occurred to the mind of a writer of a later time" (p. 15). If Professor Sayce wished to point out a passage in the Pentateuch "which implies the use of documents of the age of Moses," he could not have chosen a more unfortunate example. Were not the Phœnicians Canaanites? And might not the "Oriental archæologist" be expected to know that the Phœnician monuments, down to the age of Alexander, bear the clearest marks of Egyptian influence and of close intercourse with Egypt? The Oriental archæologist can hardly have forgotten, for instance, the inscription of Yehaumelek, king of Gebal, who lived in the Persian period, and the portrait of the goddess of Gebal (one of the principal Phœnician cities) *clad in Egyptian attire*. Still later, of about the time of Alexander, is the inscribed sarcophagus of Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon—a sarcophagus of the most pronounced Egyptian type. That the architecture of the Phœnicians, until the Macedonian conquest, was modelled chiefly on that of Egypt is also well known. Such marked external resemblances could not fail to attract the attention of the Israelites; and to say therefore that the relationship between Canaan and Mizraim, as expressed in Gen. x. 6, "could not have occurred to the mind of a writer of a later time," is to set at nought the plainest archæological evidence.

Since Professor Sayce has not even attempted to overthrow the theory of the critics respecting the Mosaic Law, it matters little that he indulges in much vague declamation against them. For example—"The Book of Genesis has thus been sliced and dissected with such microscopic nicety, that the beginning of a verse has been given to one writer, the middle to another, and the end of it to a third. . . . The modern critic has no doubt as to the correctness of his analysis. . . . He has found it possible to separate the Pentateuch into its component elements with a mathematical exactitude which would be impossible in the case of a Greek or Latin author, or even of an English book" (pp. 4, 5). Professor Sayce prudently abstains from giving any references in support of these accusations. To what critic does his description apply? Certainly not to such writers as Nöldeke, Kuenen, or Wellhausen, who have repeatedly and in the clearest manner disclaimed the infallibility which, in Professor Sayce's opinion, "the modern critic" arrogates to himself. It is amusing to contrast Professor Sayce's representation with the writings of the critics themselves. A single instance will suffice. "Critical analysis," says Nöldeke, "is not possible in all cases. Sometimes the various older documents have been welded together too closely, and sometimes the characteristic features of the documents cannot be recognised with sufficient clearness, so that we must often be satisfied if in these investigations we attain to a certain degree of probability" (*Die alttestamentliche Literatur*, p. 6).

Is this the language of a man who "has no doubt about the correctness of his analysis," and who "has found it possible to separate the Pentateuch into its component elements with a mathematical exactitude"?

But if Professor Sayce carefully avoids joining issue with "the critics," the same cannot be said of the majority of the contributors to *Lex Mosaica*. We here have to do with writers whose beliefs concerning the Old Testament scarcely differ in any respect from those which were entertained in the Middle Ages. Not only on the subject of the Pentateuch, but even on such matters as the authorship of the latter part of Isaiah, and the headings of the Psalms, the ecclesiastical tradition is upheld in all its crudity (pp. 369, 387, 427, 581). That the zeal of these apologists is genuine cannot for a moment be questioned, for nothing but the sincerest enthusiasm could have induced them to embark on such a crusade. To undo the work of innumerable scholars, including all the greatest Hebraists of the last hundred years, is an undertaking of some magnitude, and ordinary prudence would have counselled Dr Valpy French and his associates to limit their ambition to something more feasible. The world naturally regards with suspicion those who attempt to prove a great deal, even when they are men who have had access to new and important sources of information. In the present case nothing of the sort is pretended. Not one of these writers professes to have ascertained any fresh facts bearing on the controversy, to have deciphered a single inscription, to have elucidated the meaning of a single obscure word. So far as they use arguments and appeal to history they are merely repeating what has often been said before. The essays, Dr Valpy French tells us, have been written in perfect independence of each other. This is painfully confirmed by internal evidence; though each essay professes to deal with a different period, the same statements, denunciations, invectives, recur in essay after essay, until we are forcibly reminded of those ancient devotees who thought that they would be heard for their much speaking. Instead of an orderly investigation, which advances step by step towards its final object, we have here a series of spasmodic efforts to reach the final object at a single bound. Yet the writers state, doubtless in perfect good faith, that their methods are in accordance with the recognised principles of historical science (see, for instance, pp. 229 *note*). In order to show that this is very far from being the case, that in reality their arguments are such as would be employed by no one in a question of ordinary classical or Oriental scholarship, it will suffice to give a few specimens.

An argument put prominently forward by Canon Rawlinson, and repeated in one form or another by most of his collaborators, is

expressed as follows :—"The Levitical Code is such a law as Moses, from his position and the circumstances of his time, might have been expected to promulgate" (p. 21). But what can we know about "the position of Moses and the circumstances of his time," except from the Pentateuch itself? Since the critics assert that the Pentateuch was compiled some eight or ten centuries after Moses, it is necessary first to prove *from independent sources* the trustworthiness of the Pentateuchal narrative before we proceed to argue that the legislation is Mosaic, because it agrees with the circumstances described in the narrative. Thus, for example, Canon Rawlinson, who implicitly believes the statement that the Israelites in the desert possessed vast quantities not only of the precious metals but also of the most costly fabrics known in the East, may consider the directions as to the Tabernacle perfectly in accordance with "the circumstances of the time of Moses." On the other hand, those who distrust the narrative may not unnaturally regard the directions about the Tabernacle as an anachronism. Canon Rawlinson himself would at once detect a fallacy in the proposition—"The Orphic poems must be genuine because they are such as Orpheus, from his position and the circumstances of his time, might have been expected to compose."

It is equally dangerous to base arguments for the antiquity of the Levitical Law on the fact that this law says nothing about a future life. "The only reasonable account," says Canon Rawlinson, "that can be given of this omission is that the author, aware how intimately the Egyptian belief on the subject was mixed up with idolatry and superstition, . . . thought it best not to touch the matter, but leave it in abeyance" (p. 24). Does Ezekiel in his legislation say anything about a future existence? Centuries later we find another Jewish writer, Ben-Sirā, composing a long treatise on religious and social duties, without the slightest allusion to this belief. The omission of the subject in the Levitical Law is therefore perfectly consistent with the theory that the Code was drawn up in the Exile or even later.

It will seem almost incredible, but it is nevertheless a fact, that Professor Stanley Leathes seriously blames the critics (or rather some of them) for questioning the date assigned to the prophet Joel in the margin of the English Authorised Version. "The date in the A.V. assigns to the Prophet Joel an earlier ministry than that of Amos and Hosea. The arbitrary conjectures of recent scholarship have placed him long after the eighth century, and even in post-exilic times" (p. 422). Does Professor Stanley Leathes believe that the date in the English Bible is part of the original text? Or that Bishop Lloyd, who inserted the marginal dates in the year 1701, was inspired to date Joel correctly? If not, how can we fix

his date save by conjecture, and why is it more "arbitrary" to place him in the fifth century than in the eighth? It would hardly be thought reasonable to accuse a classical scholar of "arbitrariness" because he differed from some seventeenth century editor as to the date of a Greek or Latin author. Here we cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Stanley Leathes himself—"This is a fair sample of the tenuity of the straws to which men will cling when they desire to maintain a theory" (p. 423).

Some of the philological arguments brought forward by Dr Sinker are not of a nature to carry conviction. On the phrase תַּפְשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה "they that handle the law" (Jer. ii. 8), he remarks—"The verb 'handle' can clearly only be explained of a definite written law, of which the priests were the exponents" (p. 482). It would have been wise to consult a concordance before making such a statement. The verb תַּפֵּשׁ is, of course, often used of handling a material object; but, like other Hebrew verbs which signify "to hold," "to grasp" (תָּחַז, תָּחַזַק, תָּחַזַק), it may also be used metaphorically. In Num. xxxi. 27 we read of תַּפְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה "those who handle war"—i.e., "those who are engaged in war." Or would Dr Sinker prefer to translate "those who handle books on the art of war"? If so, we have here a remarkable proof of the literary activity of the ancient Hebrews.

Moreover, Dr Sinker is so bold as to contradict the late Professor W. Wright on a question of comparative grammar—a department in which that scholar was confessedly one of the highest authorities. Nor does Dr Sinker seem to be aware that on this particular question the opinion of Professor Wright is supported by every other authority. In order to prove that the pronoun הוּא was once used for both genders, Dr Sinker cites the Phœnician form הָא, and adds, "it is absolutely to beg the question to say that we must assume a *scriptio defectiva*, by which הָא could stand both for הוּא and הִיא, as might be required. If, as we believe is the case, the Phœnician form is always הָא, why is it not probable that the one spelling was evidence of one sound?" (p. 471). Had Dr Sinker inquired of some one acquainted with Phœnician, he would have discovered that the *scriptio plena* occurs only in a very small number of cases, and that the difference between הוּא and הִיא *could* not be expressed in Phœnician writing without a departure from the rules of orthography. The absurdity of explaining the use of הוּא for the feminine as an archaism is manifest from the fact that among the Hebrews of the kingly period the *scriptio defectiva* was also the rule, though the exceptions were more numerous than in Phœnician. In the Siloam inscription, which dates from about the time of Hezekiah, אִישׁ "man" occurs thrice, whereas in the Old Testament

this word, which occurs hundreds of times, is invariably written שׁוֹן (except in two or three proper names—e.g. שׁוֹן־שׁוֹן, where the ancient spelling has been retained). Hence it is clear that as regards the use of the vowel-letters among the Israelites before the Exile the testimony of the Masoretic text is valueless.

But for recklessness of statement and jubilant defiance of facts the palm must undoubtedly be awarded to Dr Wace. He ventures to assert that "no archaeological discovery has yet been made which is substantially inconsistent with any record of either the Old or the New Testament" (p. 614). Dr Wace does not tell us from what archaeologist, acquainted with *every archaeological discovery that has yet been made*, he derived this important information. It cannot surely have come from his collaborator, Professor Sayce, for *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* tells a very different story. We there read, for example, that "the historical character of the Book of Esther is invalidated" (4th ed. p. 474), that "the account given by the Book of Daniel is at variance with the testimony of the inscriptions" (p. 526). On this subject Dr Wace and Professor Sayce entirely disagree; to accept the one as an authority is to deny all authority to the other. And such being the case, the public is hardly to be blamed for hesitating to take the word of either.

A. A. BEVAN.

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**Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, in Verbindung mit Prof. Albert Socin und Prof. H. Zimmern bearbeitet**

Von *Dr Frants Buhl*, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig. Zwölfte völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 1895. Pp. xii. 965. Price, M. 15.

It is now five years since the eleventh edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* was published under the superintendence of Professors Mühlau and Volck. The present edition, revised by Professor Buhl, is in many respects a new book. Besides numerous changes in matters of detail, one radical innovation has been effected—that of placing the Biblical Aramaic words by themselves. A German-Hebrew index, revised by F. O. Kramer, is appended.

The name of Professor Buhl will appear to all scholars a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of the work. Not only have many errors disappeared, but much new and valuable material has been

added. The countless references to books, pamphlets, and articles, published during the last few years in all parts of the world, bear witness to the industry of the editor. It is particularly gratifying to see what respectful notice has been taken of the many important suggestions contained in the works of the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith—*e.g.*, under אִשְׁפַּת, בָּלָה, כִּשָּׁף, נַחֵשׁ, תַּפְּחָה, תַּפְּחָה, etc.

One of the chief difficulties with which the Hebrew lexicographer has to contend is the uncertainty of the Masoretic text. It is now admitted as a general principle that passages suspected of corruption should not be cited in a Lexicon without some warning, and that when a probable emendation has been suggested it should be mentioned. Of course there is room for great difference of opinion as to which particular cases should be included, and we cannot wonder that some of the passages for which emendations are proposed in the very useful *Hebräisches Wörterbuch* of Siegfried and Stade (1893) have been cited by Professor Buhl without any expression of doubt. But I venture to think that on the whole he has been far too sparing in the insertion of queries; thus, for example, מַחֲצֶבֶת Is. li. 9, רוּיָה Ps. lxi. 12, שָׁפִי Num. xxiii. 3, תְּבִלִית Is. x. 25, should at least have been marked as suspicious, even if the editor did not think the proposed emendations worthy of mention. A still more important case is הִתְרַסָּה Judges xiv. 18, for which Stade reads הִתְרַרָּה. I do not remember to have seen it noticed that this emendation is confirmed by the Peshittā, which has *tukḵānā*, evidently a corruption of *tauwānā* (= הִתְרַרָּה).

Professor Buhl has devoted particular attention to one subject with which Siegfried and Stade, as they state in their Preface, have not attempted to grapple—viz., the primitive meanings of the roots and the relation of the Hebrew roots to those found in the other Semitic languages. In many cases he has rectified the etymologies of Mühlau and Volek. Thus, for instance, he points out that אֱלֹהִים “God” is probably not derived from a root meaning “to fear,” since the Arabic verb *aliha* or *waliha* has all the appearance of a denominative formed from *ilāh*, “god.” But it is impossible not to feel that some very doubtful speculations have been retained or introduced, without any indication of their uncertainty, and that on some obscure questions one opinion only has been given, to the exclusion of others no less probable. A few examples may here be cited.

*s.v.* הוּת—It is not safe to explain הִתְהוּתָהוּ Ps. lxiii. 4 by the Arabic verb *hawwata*, since *hawwata* (more commonly *hayyata*) is derived from the interjection *haita*; see the *Lisān-al-‘Arab* ii. 411,

last line. Until *haita* has been proved to exist in Hebrew we have no right to assume a verb derived from it.

*s.v.* חָרַר—The existence of this verbal root in Hebrew is extremely doubtful. Professor Buhl, like Mühlau and Volck, connects it with the Arabic *hadara*, the Syriac *ḥēdhar*, and the late Hebrew חָרַר. But against the identification of the Arabic with the Syriac verb it may be urged (1) that *hadara* means “to descend,” whereas *ḥēdhar* is “to go round”; (2) that we are then obliged to deny all connection between *ḥēdhar* and חָרַר (since Arab. *d* cannot correspond to Hebr. ח), though these two verbs have exactly the same sense. Accordingly, it is much more probable that those are right who identify Syr. *ḥēdhar*, Heb. חָרַר, with Arab. *hadhira*, “to avoid,” Germ. *umgehen*; see the note by Fleischer in Levy’s *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterb.* ii. 202. Now, if הַחֲרָרֶת in Ezek. xxi. 19 means “which surrounds,” we must suppose that the prophet is using an Aramaism. This would be somewhat strange, the more so as in Jewish Aramaic (e.g., in the Targums) the verb is חָזַר—i.e., the Hebrew form is adopted, or else perhaps this may be a sporadic survival of an older Aramaic pronunciation, like the ח ( = ר ) of the inscriptions. In any case the form in Ezek. xxi. 19 is very suspicious, and possibly הַחֲרָרֶת may be nothing but a mistake for הַחֲרָה “has been sharpened,” cf. הַחֲרָה verses 14, 15, 16.

*s.v.* חוּב—The genuine Arabic equivalent of Syr. *hābh* is not *hāba* but *khāba* (with pointed *Khā*), “to fail,” “to be unsuccessful.” This appears to be the primitive meaning of the root, since it belongs both to the Arabic and to the Aramaic verb. But in Aramaic the verb more commonly has the derived sense “to be in debt,” “to be guilty,” etc. The Arabic *hāba* “to sin,” “*hūb* “sin” (Koran iv. 2), are theological terms borrowed from the Aramaic. *Hūb* may also be pronounced *haub*—i.e., we have here two different attempts to render the *ō* of the Jewish Aramaic חוּב.

*s.v.* חָנַן—Prof. Buhl, like most of his predecessors, gives as the primitive meaning “to bend oneself.” The view expressed long ago by Schultens might at least have been cited also, since it is strongly supported by Arabic usage—viz., that the meaning is “to moan,” or rather “to croon.”

*s.v.* לָחַם—It is not easy to see why Prof. Buhl creates a second root לָחַם, from which to derive לֶחֶם “bread.” The verb לָחַם “to eat bread” (and hence “to eat” in general) is surely a denominative, like the Biblical Aram. מָלַח “to eat salt,” Ezra iv. 14, which Prof. Buhl rightly explains as a denominative from מָלַח “salt.”

s.v. מָנַן—The connection of this root with מָנַע and the Ethiopic *mannana* is more than doubtful. On the other hand, it might have been mentioned that in Arabic *ma'ūna* is “toil,” “trouble” (*Ibn Hishām*, 155, line 12), and hence מָנַן means properly “to think a thing toilsome, disagreeable.”

s.v. מוּל, מוֹל—On the meaning of this preposition a very important paper by W. A. W. (*i.e.*, William Aldis Wright) was published in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, Vol. xiii. 117-120. It is there said—“An examination of all the passages in which מוּל occurs has led me to the following conclusion: that one object is said to be מוּל or מוֹל or מוּל אֶל with regard to another, when it stands close in front of the other and both face *in the same direction*. On the other hand, one object is said to be נֶגֶד with regard to another when one is opposite to or over against the other, with an interval between them, and the two face *in opposite directions*.”

s.v. עָטַף—Prof. Buhl not only splits this root into two, but entirely ignores the ordinary view which derives the meaning “to faint” from the notion of “being covered.” This is decidedly favoured by Arabic analogy (see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*).

s.v. עָצַב—Mühlau and Volck endeavour to explain all the meanings of this root from the idea “to cut,” Arab. *aḍaba*. Prof. Buhl is doubtless right in distinguishing two roots, (1) “to shape, form,” (2) “to cause pain.” But this latter can hardly be connected with Arab. *ghaḍiba*, since in Biblical Aramaic we find עָצַיִב exactly corresponding to Arab. *‘aṣīb* (Koran xi. 79), which the commentators explain as meaning *shadīd*—*i.e.*, “painful,” “severe.” The Heb. עָצַב “to cause pain,” must therefore mean properly “to bind tightly,” *cf.* Syr. *‘eṣabh* “to bind.”

s.v. II פָּצַח —That פָּצַחוּ Micah iii. 3 means “they have broken,” and corresponds to Arab. *faḍakha*, is possible but by no means certain. It may equally well correspond to Arab. *faḍaḥa*, “to lay bare,” and this perhaps suits the context better.

s.v. II שָׁכַל —Gen. xlviii. 14 is extremely obscure. At all events it is illegitimate to adduce Arab. *shakala* (not *shakila*, see Lane), since this verb does not mean “verwickelt, verworren sein,” but “to be similar in appearance, hence ambiguous,” *cf.* *shakl*, “appearance, likeness.” The Arabic root therefore corresponds to Hebr. I שָׁכַל “to look,” Germ. *betrachten*.

A. A. BEVAN.

**Ezechiel-Studien.**

*Von Dr. Dav. Heinr. Müller, Ord. Öff. Professor an der k. k. Universität Wien. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard, 1895. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Svo, pp. 62. Price, M. 3.*

THE author of this work has long been known as one of the principal authorities on Semitic philology in general, and on ancient Semitic inscriptions in particular. A treatise from his pen relating to the Old Testament has therefore peculiar claims to the attention of theologians; for whether they are able to accept his conclusions or no, they cannot fail to derive from him much important information which will vainly be sought in the ordinary commentaries. Professor Müller here gives us five short papers, dealing with a number of separate details in the Book of Ezekiel. The subjects are: (1) The Vision of the Chariot, Ezek. i.-xi.; (2) The Sending of the Prophet, Ezek. ii., iii.; (3) Sketches and the finished Work, Ezek. iii., xviii., xxxiii.; (4) The Frame-work of certain Prophecies, Ezek. vi., xxxii., xxxv., xxxvi.; (5) Parallel Passages from the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

That Ezekiel was influenced to a large extent by earlier writings is now generally acknowledged. Professor Müller devotes special attention to this question of the prophet's literary dependence, and points out, for example, that the introductory vision, as well as that in Isaiah vi., is ultimately based upon the vision of Micaiah in 1 Kings xxii. 19-22. In like manner, the sending of the prophet is modelled upon the sending of Moses (Exodus iii., iv.) and the sending of Gideon (Judges vi.). Professor Müller goes so far as to maintain that Ezekiel probably borrowed certain ideas and phrases from the Assyrio-Babylonian literature. The parallels given are certainly remarkable; but whether they suffice to prove any kind of literary dependence may perhaps be doubted.

In his treatment of the text, Professor Müller will be thought extremely conservative. Not only does he reject the bolder changes proposed by Cornill, but even in such a passage as Ezek. iii. 12, he is inclined to defend the Massoretic reading, in spite of the very serious difficulties which it offers. The apparent contradictions between chaps. i. and x. have long perplexed commentators, and it has therefore been suggested that a great part of the latter chapter is spurious. Professor Müller, on the contrary, thinks that here the prophet gives a second description, in order to overcome the objections which the former one had raised both in his own mind and in the minds of his hearers.

A. A. BEVAN.

## **A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Sixteenth Dynasty.**

*By W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., Edwards Professor of Egyptology in University College, London. Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 254. Price, 6s.*

THE peculiar relation in which the British nation stands towards Egypt would naturally lead one to expect that the study of all that pertained to the ancient inhabitants of that land should be actively pursued in this country. Hitherto, to our disgrace be it said, this has not been the case, despite the fact that we possess in our museums abundant and priceless material for the study; and we have been, up to the present, dependent on the works of Continental scholars for our best text-books on Egyptian History, Philology, and Lexicography.

It is therefore with peculiar pleasure that we welcome this work from the pen of an English Professor of Egyptology, and the more so as its author has done more than any living man in the discovery of those monumental materials upon which the history of the earlier periods of the Egyptian nation can alone be satisfactorily based.

The book is especially designed for the student, rather than for the general reader, and the subject is treated with a fulness of detail which would scarcely be appreciated by the latter class; and the author naturally assumes that the students for whom he writes have acquired such an elementary knowledge of the subject as to be able to follow his critical expositions of the records and memorials from which his history is drawn. The style is simple, condensed, and suggestive; and the subject is treated with the thoroughness that arises from a first-hand acquaintance with the material on which the author has worked. On the whole, Professor Petrie's work may be classed as one of the most important of the recent contributions to our knowledge of Egyptian history; and if in some respects it is not as exhaustive as the work of Wiedemann or Meyer, it has the advantage of being brought up to date in almost every respect.

This volume of the history treats of the earliest periods, ending at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty with the fall of the Shepherd Kingdom. Professor Petrie prefaces his historical study with a short sketch of the physical geology of Egypt and a notice of the traces of its prehistoric inhabitants. We have now abundant evidence of the existence of Palæolithic man in Egypt at a date which must have been long anterior to the advent of the historic race,—that is, at least more than 7000 years ago.

Professor Petrie adopts De Rouge's theory as to the ethnic

affinities of the historic race. He believes them to have been of Asiatic origin, and, in accordance with the ethnic tradition embodied in the Genesis narrative, he supposes them to have been related to the people of Pünt, or Southern Arabia. They probably crossed the Red Sea, and making their way to the river, probably by the Kosseir Road, descended northward to the Mediterranean. They found the country inhabited by one, if not by two, pre-existing races, with whom they subsequently amalgamated; but the two modes of sepulture which Professor Petrie found at Medum show that at least as late as the date of the fourth dynasty these elements had not completely fused. In tombs of the twenty-second dynasty at Qurnah some mummies have been found, which, in osteological characters, closely resemble the more archaic of the Medum races.

The early mythical history is passed in rapid review, and Professor Petrie is evidently inclined to regard the traditions, not only of the god and hero dynasties, but also of the first three of the human dynasties, from Menes to Seneferu (whom he places about 3998 B.C.), as being rather of the nature of legend than of trustworthy history. As the extant lists of the kings ascribed to this period were not compiled at a date further back than the period of Seti I., it is probable that they are variants of one collected tradition, and not of the value of independent witnesses.

It can scarcely be imagined that the Menite monarchy started fully organised in the time of its founder. From the analogy of other histories it is much more probable that this was the historic emergence of the dominant race, who had, in all likelihood, many and sore struggles before they became supreme masters of the land. This would account for the absence of permanent memorials; indeed, it is commemorated in the traditions that Tosorthros, who is supposed to have preceded Seneferu by 180 years, was the first recorded builder of a house of hewn stone. The argument from the absence of dated monuments of this period can only be taken as suggestive, not as conclusive. We know that at a much later date there is a period of at least 500 years of which the monumental evidence is extremely scanty. It is likely also that, as Professor Petrie suggests, the use of metal tools came in with the fourth dynasty, and thus enabled them to produce the wonderful works which characterised that first great outburst of Egyptian constructive art.

In the fourth dynasty we reach the solid ground of monumental evidence. Man then set himself to erect buildings on a colossal scale, and probably at no epoch in the history of any country were his efforts more successful and skilful. Whether or not the Sphinx was carved at this period Professor Petrie does not finally decide; but he is evidently of opinion that it is a work of later date, in

accordance with the thesis which he has maintained in an earlier work, that the conception of the sphinx is of foreign origin, imported probably from Asia by some of the immigrant rulers of later times, perhaps those of the race of Khyan, in the ninth dynasty.

It is certainly with reluctance that one feels constrained to give a provisional assent to Professor Petrie's arguments in this matter, but assuredly the tablet of Khufu cannot be regarded as settling the question, for, as is now generally admitted, it is of much later date, probably of the twenty-first dynasty, or even later. It is a still greater wrench to have our faith in the antiquity of the coffin lid of Mycerinus weakened; but, in the face of the arguments recently adduced by the German critics, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion, to which Professor Petrie assents, that this relic, with its "schwanenlied" is a late reconstruction, possibly of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

There are certain difficulties in determining the chronology of this early period. Queen Mertitefs, on her tomb at Gizeh, says of herself that she was *ur am-t* (great favourite) of Seneferu, *ur am-t* of Khufu, and *makh kher* (devoted to Khafra). If, as we are told, Seneferu reigned twenty-nine years, Khufu sixty-three, and Khafra sixty-six, even supposing that Mertitefs was in her teens when she became wife of Seneferu, she must have been advanced in years when Khafra came to the throne; but perhaps this is indicated in the change of expression used by this ancient predecessor of Ninon de l'Enclos to express the sentiments of the last king. In any case, her evidence proves that no other reign was interposed, and that Radedef, whom Tunari and Seti have interposed between Khufu and Khafra, must have come later, possibly after Menkara, as stated in the list of Manetho, if indeed he be the same as Rhatoises.

In general, Professor Petrie has made the Turin papyrus the basis of his chronology, but he suggests emendations where other information is available. It is interesting to note, however, that on the whole the result runs approximately parallel with those of the artificial chronology of Brugsch, based upon the assumption that each generation lasted thirty-three years. At the start, Brugsch is more than 200 years behind Petrie, the former putting Seneferu about 3776 B.C., the latter at 3998. The end of the sixth dynasty is referred by Brugsch to 3000, by Petrie to 3290, and the end of the twelfth dynasty is placed by them respectively at 2236 and 2565. The very judicious remarks with which Professor Petrie ends his concluding chapter on chronology cannot be too strongly emphasised in this connection. In dealing with the dates of the dark ages which follow the reign of Queen Sebekheferu, Professor Petrie is more liberal in his allotment of time than was Brugsch, as he allows 965 years between the end of her reign and the accession of Aahmes, while Brugsch puts the interval at 536 years.

In treating this, the most obscure period of the history, Professor Petrie has adopted Brugsch's method of regarding the names in the Turin list as successive, but if there be any force in the argument used by him against the duration of the early dynasties from the paucity of monuments, it might be used with much greater cogency here, where the monuments of this period are so few; but while we cannot but regard Lieblein's method of grouping as purely artificial, it is not improbable that some errors may have crept into the numbers in the list, and that some degree at least of overlap may have taken place.

The monumental traces of foreign influence before the Hyksos rule are most interesting, and Professor Petrie has shown with great clearness that it is probable that some of the kings of the eleventh dynasty, such as Khyan, may have been successful members of an early Semitic immigration, and, may, like Joseph in much later times, have been persons who rose to be not only second, but supreme rulers in the land. Here the study of the linguistic changes which took place in the Egyptian language, and which differentiate the speech of the early days of the new Empire from the language of the pyramid texts, confirms the monumental evidence of foreign influence.

Professor Petrie gives in connection with each king a list of the known monuments of his reign, and the most important of these are very clearly illustrated. It would be an advantage if in subsequent additions a map were also given of the places mentioned. It is necessary for the student of Egyptian history to keep constantly in his mind the exact geographical details of the long narrow valley which was the theatre wherein the events of the history were transacted. The index is full and good, and the work as a whole is one for which all students of Egyptology have reason to be deeply grateful to Professor Petrie; and we look forward with interest and expectancy to the two other volumes in continuation that are promised from his pen.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

### **Religionsphilosophie im Umriss.**

*Mit historisch-kritischer Einleitung über die Religionsphilosophie seit Kant. Von Dr Rudolph Seydel. Nach des Verfassers Tode herausgegeben von Professor D. Paul Wilh. Schmiedel. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893. Large 8vo, pp. xix. 396. Price, M. 9.*

FROM 1860 to 1892 Rudolph Seydel taught in the University of Leipzig, and for an even longer period, as we learn from the carefully prepared *Verzeichniss* appended to the work before us, he

contributed with unfailing regularity books, articles, and reviews to the philosophical and theological press. Yet, in two respects, the irony of fate pursued him ; he never reached the coveted goal of an Ordinary Professorship ; and this book, which was his most considerable work, and contains the fruit of his most mature thought, was, at his death, to a large extent unrevised, and is indebted for its publication to the editorial care of a distinguished and grateful pupil. The brief biographical sketch, prefixed by the latter, is marked by the paucity of outward details, which might be expected in the case of an unobtrusive scholar, who early chose his path in life, and consistently adhered to it, but it reveals a spiritual history of no little interest,—one, indeed, which raises problems quite as noteworthy as any discussed in the course of the work itself. For we see how various streams of influence combined to make him what he was, from the time when the fundamental divergence in religious attitude between his rationalistic father and pietistic mother,—which, nevertheless, did not interfere with their mutual affection and happy home-life,—first arrested his attention, to that when Romantic idealisms delivered him from the severities of Herbartian philosophy. The former opposition suggested to the youthful thinker that there was a kernel of Religion underlying and binding together those who in opinion differed so widely, while the latter led him to give that prominence to the Religious Ideal which marks his systematic treatment of the problems of religious philosophy. Nor was Seydel content to *dream* of the ideal ; in two directions successively he thought he saw the way to its partial realisation. In early life, under his father's influence, he became an enthusiastic Freemason ; later he abandoned the craft and became a supporter of the *Protestantenverein*. In his own neighbourhood, he filled several civil and ecclesiastical offices, approving himself thus not only the earnest thinker, but the man of affairs.

The title given to this book—"Philosophy of Religion in outline"—is the choice of the editor. The author's own title was that here appropriated to the second or systematic part—"The Religion of the free Sonship of God"—with the other as a sub-title. It seems to us that it would have been better to have adopted a more restricted designation than that which the editor has chosen, as the work does not cover what is now understood by Philosophy of Religion. Of it, as was remarked in a former number of this Review concerning Siebeck's *Religionsphilosophie*—"a text-book of this subject it is *not*." The history of Religion is barely glanced at ; its origin and common elements are not discussed from a historical point of view ; the problem is conceived as purely a rational and philosophical one, and appropriately the historico-critical introduc-

tion begins with Kant's "*Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*." Yet, perhaps the most important work previously done by Seydel had been his attempt to trace a relationship between Buddhism and Christianity, a subject which he treated at length in 1882, and to which he returned in 1884.

Seydel's theological position is correctly stated by his biographer to have been determined by two leading principles,—on the one hand, a revolt against traditional Christianity; and on the other, an equally strenuous rejection of Materialism, and the mechanical view of Causality. Accepting the doctrine of Evolution, he gave it a spiritual interpretation, and regarded it from the point of view of an inner Teleology. After describing the three methods in which Religion may be investigated,—the psychological, the historical, the teleological,—he adopts the last method as his own. Starting from the actual religious experience of the soul, which furnishes the Philosophy of Religion with its problem, and which consists in the direction of the will to an ideal end, he seeks to ascertain how this experience is attained, maintained, and intensified, so that this striving after an end may be understood both as to its contents and its conditions. The Philosophy of Religion, however, as he conceives it, is not concerned with investigating the cause of this characteristic experience, nor with assigning it a place as a historical fact in the general development of things. Its immediate subject is the ideal or perfected Religion—Religion as it ought to be—and this includes a consideration of the *possibility* of realising this end, and the *means* by which it is to be realised. Here the threefold method of enquiry again presents itself. We may ask how the actual religious life of men has arisen, how and how far its actual historical development has realised its aims, or what the perfect Religion is, and how it is to be attained. Kant's new departure in the Philosophy of Religion lies in his having, for the first time, made this last question an integral part of Philosophy, and so given to Religion its place beside the other spiritual possessions of man.

The first chapter of the Historical Introduction discusses those views of the nature or essence of Religion which seem to the author to have laid stress on one element of it to the exclusion of others. While Fichte formulated its central condition as deliverance from mere individual life through participation in the divine, he was too indifferent to the form in which this central condition expressed itself. Others again laid stress upon the form, which Kant set forth as Moral Action, Schleiermacher as Feeling, and Hegel as Knowledge. Schelling was equally one-sided, whether he regarded it as predominantly Art or Love. These leaders of the transcendental movement receive, however, less exhaustive treatment than the representatives of more recent phases of thought. After a

chapter dealing with those who combine in various ways the elements which had previously been too exclusively regarded, very full consideration is given to what may be called the metaphysical and anti-metaphysical schools, those who like Pfeiderer, Biedermann, and Lipsius, found their systems upon a definite theory of knowledge, and those who, like Ritschl and his followers, Herrmann, Kaftan, and Bender, deny the possibility of any such theory. With the latter our author has evidently much sympathy; Ritschlianism is the *specifically modern* phase of thought, and in its concentration of attention upon the *life of faith* he recognises a distinct step in advance. It is, however, in Vatke (whose views he considers in a final chapter of the first part, dealing with the most recent developments), and in Pfeiderer, that he finds the clearest comprehension and the fullest treatment of the topics which he regards as included in the Philosophy of Religion. As to his conception of Religion itself, he adopts a sentence of Pünjer, to the effect that "it should fill the *whole life* of man, that it should not be the occupation of special hours of devotion only, and should not only guide, but inspire, uphold, and determine all activities of man, all thought, speech, and deed."

In the second or systematic portion of his work Seydel discusses in order the several problems which appear to him to fall under Philosophy of Religion. The two elements of Religion which have to be philosophically investigated are the basis of experience from which it starts, and the ends or ideal aims which it sets before it. A prior question to be considered is obviously one of method, with the discussion of which the introduction to this part is occupied. Sciences may be divided into those concerned with the end or the ideal, and those dealing with causes or the basis of existence. The Philosophy of Religion belongs to the former; in two departments only does it touch upon the latter, namely, in the Philosophy of History and the Doctrine of God. There is no other way in which religious truth can be attained but by a philosophical enquiry into the fact of Religion and the character of the ends by which it is dominated. Neither faith nor revelation can, in Seydel's view, ever supersede the philosophical method. In the course of an elaborate discussion he claims to prove that faith can never lead to knowledge, and that revelation is only the appeal to faith in another form. Philosophy of Religion is therefore a branch of general Ethics, and the only method applicable is the inductive treatment of the facts.

The first division treats of the Ideal of Religion in its general aspect, its opposites, and partial developments. It is the bringing about of an inner spiritual relationship, in which the will consciously strives after unlimited submission to the Divine as the Highest which man can know or conceive. All selfishness,—even in

its highest form, as a desire of blessedness,—is excluded, though in the enjoyment of the divine is the fullest satisfaction of every right desire. It is shown how the Ideal is stunted and mutilated through various one-sided apprehensions of it, such as Pietism, Mysticism, Moralism. But the life in, with, and from God, which is the central fact of Religion, is necessarily manifested and realised in several directions. It leads to a *Consciousness* with certain definite contents, the investigation of which gives rise to a system of Doctrine; to an *Emotional* perception, which is treated under the head of Religious *Æsthetic*; and to appropriate modes of *Action*, which form the subject of Religious *Ethic*. The discussion of these occupies the second, third, and fourth divisions respectively of the systematic part.

The need for a system of Doctrine is due to the rise and presence of Doubt. Simple faith, as it is called, may thrust doubt aside, but does not overcome it. Scepticism asks—Is there indeed in the universe a power of redemption, of salvation, the sum of all good, and able and willing to bestow it? If there is, is the world capable of receiving and being acted upon by this source of good, so that it may be redeemed? Is there a means whereby the supreme power of good may be brought to bear upon the actual world, so that it may attain true blessedness? These three questions give rise to the three great divisions of the *Glaubenslehre*, namely, the Doctrine of God, his existence and nature, as the source and pledge of salvation; the doctrine of the World in its relation to the saving will of God, especially Theodicy, or the consideration of the difficulties which arise through the existence of evil; and the Realisation of Salvation, or the conditions and manner of the redemption of men. Under the first head the various arguments for the existence of God as the Unconditioned are discussed, special stress being laid on the Ontological argument, of which the various forms are explained and criticised. The idea of the Unconditioned being attained, two of the chief attributes of God receive attention; He is thought of metaphysically as Omnipotence and ethically as Love,—as One, that is, whose “will is salvation.” Under the third head, there is a very remarkable discussion of the question, Who are capable of being saved? As salvation consists in the supremacy of the spiritual part of man over the sensible or the natural, it follows that all who have not thus become regenerate remain purely animal and do not attain Immortality. As nature of fifty seeds “often brings but one to bear,” so Seydel would answer in the negative the poet’s query—

“The wish, that of the living whole  
No life may fail beyond the grave,  
Derives it not from what we have  
The likeliest God within the soul?”

The boundary line between the animal and the spiritual is not, he maintains, passed by the idiot, the savage, and those dying in infancy. On the other hand, our author thinks the suggestion not unworthy of attention that the soul after death may take up its residence in some of the heavenly bodies, to which our frames as presently constituted would not be adapted !

While the system of Doctrine is naturally the side on which Religion is most fully developed, the other two divisions recognise that it is a matter also of Feeling and of Will. The former of these is chiefly occupied with a consideration of the place of the Symbolical in worship, and of religious Art. The latter deals with specially devotional and religious activities. The ethical element in Religion emerges with the first impulse to realise the ends of Religion, and could only conceivably cease when these are in the fullest measure attained. It requires a constant, earnest pursuit of truth ; truth must not be sacrificed in order to secure peace of mind ; the traditional must be lovingly, reverently, but faithfully put to the test. Religious Ethic aims also at the strengthening and purifying of religious feeling by cherishing suitable images of hope, and by worship. Here the association of men for the cultivation in common of the end in view has a special value. And lastly, action is to be entered on for the benefit of others, so that the world and the whole of life may be filled with the religious spirit, whereby alone the Ideal in view from the first can reach its consummation.

From the above outline the object, method, and spirit of the work before us may be gathered. It abounds in penetrating and suggestive thoughts and in passages of acute criticism. Some of its discussions indeed are tedious, and not a few obscure. The editor remarks that had Seydel been spared, he would doubtless have improved the book from a "*stilistisch*" point of view, abbreviating some parts and excising others. It sadly needs such treatment ; but we cannot blame the editor for shrinking from the responsibility of making the alterations which would thus have been necessary. He has done his own part exceedingly well, especially in supplying the excellent analytical index by which the labour of the reader is greatly lessened. This index makes reference to the special discussions comparatively easy, and for this purpose rather than as one to be read as a whole, the book will be found useful to students.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

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**Johann Adam Möhler der Symboliker. Ein Beitrag zu seinem Leben und seiner Lehre aus seinen eigenen und andern ungedruckten Papieren.**

*Von J. Friedrich. München: Oskar Beck. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. v. 139. Price M. 2.*

WE have had sketches of Möhler's life and teaching before, in *Wetzer und Welte*, in *Herzog und Plitt*, by Gams, by Wörner, by Kling, and by Kihn, the last being an academical address at the University of Würzburg by its Rector, 1885. Dr Döllinger, who edited a selection from Möhler's Essays shortly after his death (*Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze*, Regensburg, 1839, 1840), and could have told more that was worth knowing about Möhler than any of these writers, withheld his hand. This was one of those subjects about which, in Lord Acton's words respecting the strange disproportion between Döllinger's power and his productiveness, "he knew too much to write" (*Historical Review*, October 1890, p. 743). For a long time Dr Friedrich of Munich has been engaged in writing a Life of Döllinger, whose colleague and friend he was, and whose excommunication he shared. In consequence of his having undertaken this very extensive work, an immense amount of material, hitherto in Döllinger's possession, has come into his hands, including a number of Möhler's letters to Döllinger, and a large quantity of note-books which he used for his lectures on the Pauline Epistles, on Christian Literary History, and on Church History generally. Dr Friedrich naturally enough decided that a treasure of this kind ought not to remain buried. To insert the substance of it in the Life of Döllinger would be a thoroughly legitimate proceeding, but would swell the bulk of what must in any case be a lengthy work. Moreover, this manner of treating them would have caused very considerable delay. He has therefore determined to send forth the results of his investigations in this most interesting field at once as a separate publication.

Döllinger outlived Möhler by more than half a century, and one is accustomed to think of Möhler as belonging to an earlier generation; but in fact he was earlier by only three years. Möhler was born in 1796 and Döllinger in 1799; yet the former was barely forty-two when he died, while the latter was over ninety. The occasion of their becoming personally acquainted with one another is interesting. It came about in 1829, owing to Möhler's reviewing Döllinger's *Kirchengeschichte* in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift*, criticising it as being too subjective a treatment of history. In particular, he finds fault with the too favourable view taken of the Jesuits and the somewhat prejudiced view taken of the Jansenists.

A Catholic historian ought to be above party, frankly to recognise good wherever he finds it, and with equal unreserve to note whatever is erroneous, one-sided, false, or scandalous. No doubt there are points in which the Jesuits win the warmest sympathies of the historian, both for what they have done and for what they have suffered; and especially because they have often suffered, not for their faults, but for their virtues. But there is something to be said on the other side; and in any case the Jesuits are not everybody, and it is possible to do some good without them; and if the Jesuits have sometimes been badly treated, so have the Jansenists. Herr Döllinger seems to think that the Jansenists were to blame for the hostility which the French Parliament more and more exhibited towards the Episcopate. But was it the Jansenists who had a Père le Tellier and a Père la Chaise at court, and was it they who tried to manage everything by means of the temporal power? Was it they who urged the Popes to declare themselves infallible?

It will perhaps be a surprise to some to read of Döllinger being criticised for being prejudiced in favour of the Jesuits. But at this time he was still under the influence of Baader and of Count de Maistre, the former of whom is said to have been then, what Döllinger himself became in later life, "the most instructive and impressive talker in Germany." Döllinger was quite willing to talk in later days of the time when the achievements of the Jesuits had fascinated him.

Döllinger's History of the Church (1833-1838) was at this time not published. The book which Möhler thus criticises is an earlier work, a sort of handbook of Church History. And the English translation by Dr Cox, a re-issue of which (in strange violation of what is fitting) is now advertised, is a combination of the two. Möhler's criticisms were taken by the author in good part. He told his critic that a study of Fénelon would modify his views. Möhler tried the experiment, and in an interesting letter, which is here given in full (*Tübingen*, February 20, 1830), admits that his views have been modified. There is a story that Hormayr showed King Ludwig I. a passage in Döllinger, in which the massacre of S. Bartholomew is defended, and that it made the king very angry. There is no such passage; but it may be true enough that the king was displeased with the treatment of the subject. Döllinger was not in favour with him on other grounds, and it was not until long afterwards that he succeeded (1835) in inducing the king, through the mediation of Ringseis, Rector of the University, to appoint Möhler to a professorship at Munich. But during the five years of waiting Möhler and Döllinger corresponded with one another, and some of Möhler's letters are here given. The publication of the work by which Möhler is best known—*Symbolik oder*

*Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten*<sup>1</sup> (Mainz, 1832; Eng. Trans. by Robertson, 1843)—had involved him in a great deal of controversy, especially with his colleague F. C. Baur, who wrote against it (1834); and Möhler was not sorry to leave Tübingen for Munich. As soon as Döllinger told him that the matter was settled, he was in feverish haste to get away. But he was already anxious about his health and the probable effects of the Munich climate. He begs his friend to find him a lodging on the sunny side of the street, sheltered from the wind, near the University buildings, and neither on the ground floor nor in the attics (March 25, 1835). "I am longing greatly to come to you and your friends. God grant that we may work together for His kingdom, and be able to build up and enlarge and strengthen it in peace and unity" (April 12, 1835).

He came to Munich not only without any official appointment, but without knowing what the official appointment, when made, would be. When it came, he was made Professor of Exegesis, Döllinger being Professor of Church History and Canon Law. But by private arrangement between the two Möhler lectured on Church History, and Döllinger styled himself Professor of Canon Law and his colleague Professor of Church History and Exegesis. Those titles corresponded to the facts of their work, but they were not the titles which had been officially conferred.

Möhler's influence at once became very great, the charm of his manner acting almost like a spell. And this effect was intensified when it became evident that death had laid its hand upon him; so that, as Friedrich remarks, even Clement Brentano became silent in his presence, and listened to his gentle eloquent words with quiet reverence.

The raw, capricious, and searching climate of Munich was not the only thing which tried him: its keen intellectual atmosphere was also very uncongenial, especially during the last part of his life, when disease had made him abnormally sensitive. At times he could not bear the society of his closest friends. Beda Weber, who has sketched him (somewhat imaginatively, as some think) in his *Characterbilder*, states that Möhler told him how intercourse with those whom he loved and admired sometimes distressed him. "I share their views, but their manner of expounding them pains me. It affects my nerves. A witticism of my friend Döllinger, a forcible expression of Professor Görres, an article by Professor Moy in the new Würzburg Gazette, gives me sleepless nights. I am obliged to avoid their society; although I feel that this enforced solitariness is bad both for me and my work, and I am in danger of becoming one-sided and misanthropic."

<sup>1</sup> In the fifth edition of the *Symbolik*, 1838, Reithmayer's Life of Möhler will be found.

But the end was not far off. Although there were times when Möhler seemed to be regaining strength, yet his health, after his removal to Munich, became steadily worse. March 22, 1835, the king nominated him Dean of the Cathedral at Würzburg, where he would have a milder climate and be freed from the exertion of lecturing. But it was too late. He died at Würzburg, April 12, just three weeks after his appointment. But he had made his mark in Munich, and, thanks to the devotion of Döllinger to his memory, that mark is not yet obliterated.

It remains to say a few words about the extracts from Möhler's lectures which Dr Friedrich gives us from the MSS. which have come into his hands. These are mainly upon two topics : the Primacy of the Roman See and the Jesuits. With regard to his views on the Primacy, they may be most conveniently summed up as identical with those of *Janus*. (See, in particular, sections iv.-vi., pp. 67-10, in *Der Papst und das Concil*, 1869 ; pp. 63-94 in "The Pope and the Council," 2nd ed., 1869. In the new German edition, re-edited and re-arranged by Friedrich, 1892, these sections have been placed at the beginning of the volume, *Das Papsthum*, pp. 1-21.) After pointing out the complete agreement between Möhler and *Janus*, Dr Friedrich remarks, "Now for the first time I fully understand what Döllinger meant, when, while Archbishop von Scherr was urging us with more and more vehemence to submit, he suddenly exclaimed in my presence, 'Imagine Möhler and Görres still alive and compelled to witness this!'"

The extracts from Möhler's lectures which treat of the Jesuits are used to vindicate the reputation of Professor Burkard Leu of Lucerne. He had attended Möhler's lectures in Tübingen ; and in 1840, when a strong effort had been made by the Ultramontanes to get the Jesuits into Lucerne, he published some of his notes taken at Möhler's lectures, to prove that it was possible to be a good Catholic, and yet doubt the wisdom of having Jesuits to conduct the education of the young. The friends of the Jesuits disputed the authenticity of these notes. What proof was there that Möhler had ever lectured publicly in this disparaging manner respecting the Jesuits ? It seems strange that no other pupil of Möhler was found who could give evidence as to the lectures in question. Leu's "Contribution to an Estimate of the Order of Jesuits" made a great sensation for a time, and then passed out of recollection, neither proved nor disproved as to being a faithful reproduction of Möhler's utterances. Dr Friedrich is now able to prove that it reproduces them with great fidelity. Professor Leu has been dead many years ; but it will be a satisfaction to those who trusted him to have his trustworthiness in this matter established.

It has sometimes been the policy of Romanists to praise the

author of the *Symbolik* as a rare combination of critical acumen and spiritual enthusiasm. But they cannot have it both ways. They cannot keep their critical enthusiast as a hero of modern Catholicism, and at the same time reject the results of his criticism with ridicule and abhorrence. It is one of the many evil results of the Vatican Decrees that they compel those who accept them to condemn as fools or as heretics those who, previous to 1870, were regarded as authorities in learning and as doctors of the Church.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

### Adamnani Vita S. Columbae.

*Edited from Dr Reeves' text, with an Introduction on Early Irish History, Notes and a Glossary, by J. T. Fowler, M.A., D.C.L., Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London; Lecturer in Hebrew, Librarian, and Vice-Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, in the University of Durham. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Pp. xciv. 201. Price, 8s. 6d. net.*

THE editor of this immortal biography has done much good work in time past, for which he has earned the gratitude of scholars; as subscribers to the Surtees Society's publications, among other learned productions, know well. But in this his last piece of work he has earned the gratitude of many who are not specialists, as well as of all who are. Hitherto Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba*, has been an inaccessible work to the large majority of people. It was not very easy to procure; and, when it was procured, it needed a competent interpreter in order to be instructive, or indeed in order to be in the fullest sense interesting. Until the second half of the present century it could not even be procured in a separate form. Those who wanted it must seek for it in collections of various kinds made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the *Florilegium* of Messingham, 1624, Basnage's *Thesaurus*, 1725, the Bollandist's *Acta Sanctorum*, and the like. The separate form and the competent interpreter appeared simultaneously when Dr Reeves in 1857 published the first edition of the *Life of S. Columba* for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society. Those who are best able to judge regard this edition as a marvel of research and accuracy for the time at which it was published. It was thrice re-issued—twice in Vol. VI. of the *Historians of Scotland*, 1871 and 1874, and once in Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 1889, of which only 220 copies were published. But in spite of the four issues of Dr Reeves' monumental edition, Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba* still remained a rare book until

1894. Moreover, the progress of historical and antiquarian knowledge had made even the work of Dr Reeves somewhat out of date. A thoroughly accessible edition, brought into line with the learning of the day, was among the many literary *desiderata* of this book-producing age.

This want was accentuated and made more widely felt when, some ten years ago, the University of Durham instituted a special examination for the degree of B.D., open, as an encouragement to study, to clergy of a certain standing, whether they were members of the University or not. Among the subjects which candidates for this degree may offer is Church History; and among the subjects which candidates who select Church History must offer is Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba*. The want which was thus aggravated by Durham has now been most appropriately supplied by a member of that University; and the University with equal propriety conferred the honorary degree of D.C.L. on the new editor just about the time when this latest piece of work of his was leaving his hands for the Clarendon Press. The Preface is dated June 9, and the degree was conferred June 26.

The Preface to the volume gives some account of the literature; and then follows the Introduction on Early Irish History, which tells the ordinary reader all that he requires to know in order to read Adamnan's biography of the Saint intelligently. This Introduction is in seven chapters, which treat respectively of the Pre-Patrician Period, St Patrick, Saints of the Patrician Period, and the "Three Orders" of Irish Saints, Irish Monasticism, Monastic Schools, Columba in Ireland, Columba in Iona, and Columba's successors, up to and including Adamnan. Where all is so good, it is a little difficult to choose; but of these seven chapters the fourth and fifth on Irish Monasticism and Monastic Schools, may be specially commended to the reader's attention. The list of "authorities cited" nearly fills six pages. Then comes a genealogical table of kings and abbots, ending in Adamnan, ninth abbot of Iona, A.D. 679-704, and a not quite complete list of *corrigenda*, the latter of which tends to show that in reprinting the text of Reeves the present editor has trusted rather too much to the accuracy of the reader at the Press. How excellently the readers at the University Press, both at Oxford and at Cambridge, do their work many of us can testify from personal experience. Nevertheless, they cannot be expected to be as lynx-eyed as an author or editor.

When we reach the text of Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, we find that Dr Fowler has done four things for us, all very helpful. He has given a marginal analysis of the Life in English, an *apparatus criticus* for the text, excellent explanatory notes at the foot of each page, and at the end a very useful glossary. As a

specimen of the notes we may take one on the word *pistor* in chap. x. of lib. iii.—

“Colgan and the Bollandists, perhaps misled by an error in a transcript, read *pictor*. This reading has led Keller and Westwood to refer to the passage as supposed evidence of the cultivation of painting or illumination in Iona, while Dr John Smith in his *Life of St Columba*, has accused Colgan ‘and other Catholics’ of wilfully altering the word to justify paintings” (p. 140).

Or, again, on the word *missa* in connexion with *vespertinalem missam* in chapter xxiii. of the same book :—

“The original meaning was the same as *missio* or *dimissio*, which seems to have been extended to any service at the end of which the congregation was dismissed, and finally to the Eucharist alone” (p. 158).

In modern German the expression *Abendmesse* may still be seen in the sense of “evening service,” and before now has been interpreted to mean “evening communion,” a sense which, to a German Roman Catholic, would seem ridiculous.

Between the useful glossary and index Dr Fowler has given a table of references to the passages of Scripture which are quoted in the *Vita*. They are taken from sixteen books of the Old Testament and thirteen of the New—Genesis, the Psalms, and St Matthew being the writings most frequently used.

Here and there in the notes, and also in the glossary, Dr Fowler calls attention to the interesting fact that some of the less usual words used by Adamnan are also used in the Vulgate, or some other Latin Version of the Bible. This he does either by a mere reference to Rönsch’s invaluable analysis of the language of the *Itala und Vulgata* (Marburg, 1875), as in the case of *Amphibalus*, *Ascella*, *Minare*, *Offensus*; or, still better, by giving references to the passages in the Bible in which the word is found, as in the case of *Appropriare*, *Humerulus*, *Papilio*. This latter method seems to be adopted only when the word occurs in the Vulgate, and not always then. The following are additional examples, and no doubt a little research would result in the discovery of more :—

*Pincerna* (I. xvii.), which is used for the monastic butler, instead of the more usual *cellarius*, is fairly common in the Vulgate (Gen. xl. 1, 2, 9, 20, 23; xli. 9; 1 Kings x. 5; 2 Chron. ix. 4). *Hauritorium* (I. xvii.) occurs in Codd. Bezae (d), Veron. (b), and Rehd. (l), for the ἀντλημα of John iv. 11. *Sublimatus est* (I. xlv.) is found in the Vulgate (Ezek. xxxi. 10; comp. Job xxii. 12). *Pausare*, “to rest” (III. xxiii.) occurs also (4 Esdr. ii. 24). *Ingeniculatio*, “kneeling” (II. xxxii.), perhaps is not used in any Latin Version, the word not being required; but the Vulgate has *ingeniculans* (3 Esdr. viii. 74).

Instances of this kind are of great interest, and tell of various things. Sometimes they explain how new words, or words in new senses, got into the Versions—viz., because of their use in the current dialect. Sometimes they explain how they got into the current dialect—viz., because of their use in a Version that was familiar. How many English words, or uses of words, would have perished but for the Authorised Version !

No one can read Adamnan for five minutes without being struck by his extraordinary fondness for diminutives, which, as a rule, have no point, but are mere substitutes for the simple word. In the glossary we are told that Reeves has made a list of eighty-three such words occurring in the *Vita S. Columbae*. As Reeves is such an inaccessible book, it would be worth while, in a second edition, which is sure to be required, to give this list, separating single from double diminutives. The latter are not very common, as *agellulus*, *capsellula*, *monticellulus*, and perhaps others. Diminutives are fairly frequent in the Latin Versions, but to nothing like the same extent as in Adamnan; and not very many are common to them and him.

The editor, who apparently prefers “connexion,” has not succeeded in keeping “connection” (which even compositors at the University Press *will* print, if allowed to do so) out of his pages (p. 158). But it is no doubt the editor, and not the compositor, who prefers “Vergil,” which to some of us seems to be indefensible. *Vergilius*, if you like—yet even that is not necessary, as the editor himself seems to admit (p. 131); but “Vergil” is neither Latin nor English. “Baeda” is all right for those who like to be particular; and “Bede” is also right, and for English people (we agree with Canon Bright<sup>1</sup>) very much to be preferred; but would not “Baede” be intolerable?

But, in conclusion, why ought students of Church History to read the Life, written near the close of the seventh century, of a saint who died near the close of the sixth? The editor, at the close of his instructive Introduction, gives us the answer to that question in the words of those who are best qualified to judge—viz., those who have made a special study of Adamnan. Because this biography is “the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but throughout the whole Middle Ages” (Pinkerton). Because it is “an inestimable relic of the Irish Church; perhaps, with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time,” and is “one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence” (Reeves). Because it is “one of the most vivid, most

<sup>1</sup> *Waymarks of History*, p. 280. Longmans, 1894. Dr Fowler always has “Bede.”

attractive, and most authentic monuments in the History of Christianity" (Montalembert). Dr Fowler has done no more useful piece of work in all that he has done for literature and archæology, than in making this exceptionally valuable document accessible to all English students.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

### Studies in Theology.

*Lectures delivered in Chicago Theological Seminary. By the Rev. James Denney, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894. Pp. viii. 272. Price, 5s.*

No such reviving note has been heard in our theology for many a day as this which is so clearly given forth by Dr Denney. Some months ago, in a Church Congress at Exeter, Dr Sanday, of Oxford, called attention to the change which marks religious thinking both in Church and non-conforming circles at present, as compared with a time twenty years earlier. At that time the first effects of more critical study had been to engender vagueness of belief and impatience of dogma. Now, as he thinks, the riper fruits of such study are beginning to appear. "It has already strengthened and defined, in the minds of recently educated preachers and writers, such doctrines as those of the Trinity, the Logos, the Atonement, and the union of the Christian with Christ." In Scotland our case has never been that which Dr Sanday's words describe for the Churches of the sister country. We have always had competent systematizers. In the last generation we had theologians like the late Principal W. Cunningham, who, with logical completeness, treated evangelical doctrine as a direct inheritance from the Reformers. All along, even since the new learning began to tell, we have had a succession of able exegetes and commentators interpreting its results for us, both in Old Testament and New Testament theology. But what we have lacked is the reconstruction of our doctrinal system in the maturer lights of modern scholarship. More than a promise of this advance we have now in the work of Dr Denney, as already in that of Dr James Orr, whom he duly associates with himself by frequent citation.

Dr Denney believes in systematic divinity. Every page pleads for the solidarity of Christian belief. His thoughts move in battalions. They have a commander, a standard, and a purpose in their movement. His mind is possessed with an instinct for consistency, which in a constructive theologian is really a form of the instinct for truth. His mental attachment is to the permanent rather than to the provisional elements in religious thought. Keen

to miss nothing which the progress of criticism and exegesis furnishes, he is strong in his hold of the fundamental; skilful in his use of what is new to illustrate it; comprehensive in his judgment of the relation of the accidental to the essential. The book does not profess to be more than a sketch or a series of studies, but it carries great principles through every one of these, and tells us how easily the author could enrich us with further applications of them. It marshals some of the chief doctrines of evangelical theology in open array and in presence of their foe,—the only rival system of the Christian facts which in our day requires to be taken seriously by the systematic theologian.

Dr Orr, in his masterly "Kerr Lecture," was the first of British writers, so far as we have noticed, to ring out a prolonged defiance to this Ritschlian or so-called New Theology. Dr Denney carries on the campaign with persistence and point. Nothing could be more seasonable, when there is among our religious writers and preachers so much of this tendency, often unconfessed and probably unconscious. But there is an element in this sketch far more valuable than the polemic—viz. the reconstructive. Like most of our recent able theological essayists, Dr Denney takes as his starting-point, and, indeed, as his centre, the relation of the Person of Christ to the entire Christian system. Faithful all through to the fulness of New Testament teaching, the book is particularly successful in bringing out its witness to the Divine, Living, and Present Christ. The favourite motto "Back to Christ" is fairly and lucidly dealt with, and its defect supplied. "The Christian religion, as the New Testament exhibits it, is the religion of men who believe that Christ lives and reigns in grace, and that they themselves are in living fellowship with a living Lord who does all things perfectly in them and for them. . . . It might sound, perhaps, too paradoxical to say that no apostle, no New Testament writer, ever *remembered* Christ; yet it would be true in the sense that they never thought of Him as belonging to the past. The exalted Lord was lifted above the conditions of time and space; when they thought of Him, memory was transmuted into faith; in all the virtue of the life they had known on earth He was Almighty, ever-present, the living King of Grace. On this conception the very being of the Christian religion depends; but for it that religion could never have been born, and without it, could not survive for a generation. . . . It is not because He lived, but because He lives, that we have life also." With a similar convincingness and force Dr Denney brings out the centrality of the Atonement in Apostolic teaching; that the work of Christ in relation to sin and to man's reconciliation to God is in the New Testament a "luminous, interpretable, and interpreted fact"; that it is the culminating point in revelation; not the insoluble

problem, but the solution of all problems. The passages which express it are to be treated not as excrescences on the Gospel; for the Christian consciousness in all ages has found in these the very core of the Gospel, the inmost heart of God's redeeming love. "The idea which they contain is not an irrational or immoral something that we must eliminate by one device or another—by exegetical ingenuity or philosophical interdict—it is the diamond pivot on which the whole system of Christian truth revolves, and to displace it or tamper with it is to reduce the New Testament to an intellectual chaos."

Even on those topics where the treatment is less full, the grasp of principles is strong. An instance of this is the "Doctrine of Man," which our author rightly perceives to hold many of the key-positions for Bible religion as against modern thought. In the Bible view, and in that of the theology which is loyal to the Bible, we have the only solution of the riddle arising from the contradiction between man's make and his condition, his formation in the Divine Image and his fall into sin. Equally fundamental is the Bible position that man unites in his constitution, nature and spirit. On the one hand he is related to nature and rooted in it; on the other he is related to God, and therefore is lord of nature. This principle is applied with terseness and point along a whole line of present-day questions. Our science deals with man only as it finds him in nature. The older theology was too apt to treat him only as spirit. The true reconciliation lies in holding the balance and the connection. Here lies the solution of the problems that arise, *e.g.*, out of those phenomena which we sum up in the term "heredity," a notion which has possessed many of our present popular writers with something approaching to a "craze." But if we see, with the Bible, that man, though rooted in nature, is sovereign over it, we shall also see heredity is nothing like the whole of man's being; it presents him with problems, with moral probation, with occasion to assert his own freedom and prove the power of God's grace. On the same lines, we justify the Bible doctrine of the connection between sin and death. The scientific assertion of the natural necessity of death—an assertion from which, by the way, such scientists as Weismann are now drawing back—as applied to man, amounts, as Dr Denney says, to a begging of the question. Once we understand what man is, we see that death to him demands an explanation not required in the case of creatures whose whole life is bounded by nature; and that explanation is supplied by Scripture when it makes death the punishment of sin.

The only important topic on which those who welcome this brilliant handling of evangelical and scriptural theology will be inclined to hesitate is that one about which the author himself appears to

hesitate, if re-shaping the form of his statement can be so designated, viz., that of the inspiration of Scripture. As to the authority of Scripture, the application he has made of this in his firm and lucid statement of the Scripture doctrines appears to carry with it all that is essential. That the authority of the Bible depends on its divineness, and that our conviction of its divineness is mainly the Spirit-witness of its contents to the spirit of redeemed men—which appears to be our author's position—is nothing other than the position of the Reformers, and the only impregnable one in the case. And it is substantially that of the Westminster Divines, who never formulate “inspiration” in any other terms than as that quality of Holy Scripture which proves it to be the Word of God. It is not clear why Dr Denney should insist on reading into their statement the scholastic, or what we may call the Helvetican, view of thirty years later, which became the basis of the hard and fast dogma he, in common with most enlightened evangelical thinkers of our day, desires to repudiate. The publishers have produced the work in a most convenient and attractive form.

J. LAIDLAW.

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### Natural Rights : A Criticism of some Political and Ethical Conceptions.

*By David G. Ritchie, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of St Andrews. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 304. Price, 10s. 6d.*

THIS is another volume of that important series, “The Library of Philosophy,” edited by Mr Muirhead, in which have already appeared Erdmann's “History of Philosophy,” Bosanquet's “History of Æsthetic,” Bradley's “Appearance and Reality,” and some other writings of the Neo-Idealist School. In this series Professor Ritchie is announced to write a History of Political Philosophy. If the larger work has anything like the thoroughness and brilliancy of the present “fragment of political philosophy,” to use Professor Ritchie's own description of his “Natural Rights,” it will be a very welcome addition to English philosophical literature. For “Natural Rights” is professedly a contribution to political philosophy, being, as Mr Ritchie insists all philosophy should be, “a criticism of categories, *i.e.* of fundamental conceptions.”

Much was made by the leaders of the French Revolution of the rights of man. Every human being had natural rights, it was said with emphasis, in the *Declaration des Droits*, prefixed to the French Constitution of September 1791. These rights were *la liberté*,—*la*

*propriété,—la sûreté,—la résistance à l'oppression.* These rights were as imprescriptible as natural, and the exercise of these rights has no other limits, it was said, "than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights." This theory of natural human rights has often been heard of both before 1789 and since. The theory remains, as our author says, "a commonplace of the newspaper and platform, not only in the United States of America, where the theory may be said to form part of the national creed, but in this country, where it was assailed a century ago by both Burke and Chatham," having exercised "for good and evil an enormous influence in the region of practical politics and legislation." It is this theory of natural human rights, the very basis of Individualism in politics, which Professor Ritchie has in this book submitted to a thorough and very readable and very destructive criticism. The book shows large reading, clear thinking, rigorous logic, and, what is relatively rarer, considerable literary ability.

In elaborating his plan, Mr Ritchie first gives a careful history of the theory of natural rights, showing its influence upon the Puritans of England, and the Puritans of America, as well as in the transformation of the French Monarchy. Next, the idea of "Nature" is minutely considered from the point of view of both history and philosophy. Then the idea of "Rights" is cautiously analysed, both critically and historically. All this occupies the first part, about a third of the whole book. In the second (and larger) part, particular natural rights are examined, namely, the right to live, the right to liberty (including the right to liberty of opinion, where a careful study is made of "Toleration"), the right of public meeting and association, the right of contract, the right of resistance, the right of equality, the right of property, and the right of happiness.

But such an outline inevitably does injustice to the author. The book as a whole is by no means an abstract discussion of abstract themes. It is living, robust, and profoundly interesting, illustrations from many sources illuminating and alleviating the more serious argument. Parts of the able chapter on Rousseau and Rousseauism, incisive as it is in its criticism, are almost rollicking in their humour.

Nor is the book simply critical and non-committal. Although the aim is not directly practical, it is very practical nevertheless. The author sees, acknowledges, and to a considerable extent approves of, the social tendencies of the age. He has a profound faith in the rationality of the world. He insists strongly on the need that all advance should be constitutional. Indeed, from reverence for the past confidence is born in the future, and the

need of gradual development becomes both assured and manifest. "Laws and institutions," says Mr Ritchie, "to be progressive must be educative; they must be such as prepare people to go beyond them, in orderly fashion."—"Too great completeness is not a merit in a political or social programme."—"It is only in old-fashioned stories that trouble ends with the wedding bells; and it is a very crude and inexperienced kind of political thinking which expects even the biggest of collectivist schemes to leave no social problems for the future." Great stress is everywhere laid upon the interpretative value of the idea of evolution, both in judging political facts and even political duties. Pessimism nowhere appears. Nay, here and there one becomes sensible of the earnestness of the author's prayer: "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven."

There appear to me occasional faults in tone and style and argument; but I believe, with Mr Ritchie, that it "is a very elementary and childish form of criticism which sees only the defects;" and I am bound to say that I feel that many preachers especially would be the better for a conscientious study of this book. Such a study would be, I think, a valuable corrective to political acidity, and possibly a useful alternative.

ALFRED CAVE.

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## **Handkommentar zum Alten Testament**

*Herausgegeben von D. W. Nowack, Strassburg. III. Abtheilung: Die prophetischen Bücher. 2 Band, 1 Theil.*

### **Das Buch Jeremia übersetzt u. erklärt.**

*Von D. Friedrich Giesebrecht, Greifswald. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Lex. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, M. 6.40.*

NOWACK'S "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament" was designed to be a companion to Meyer's Commentary to the New Testament, from the same publishers. The aim of it is to furnish students and practical theologians with the established results of Old Testament research. In the first number, the laborious and ingenious volume of Professor Duhm upon Isaiah, we were presented with a work which overshot this aim, and represented rather a personal adventure in analytic criticism than the appreciation of the secure spoils of scholarship. It is otherwise with Professor Giesebrecht's volume on Jeremiah. Thoroughly independent and fresh, this Commentary is at the same time so sober and well-founded as to take rank, in harmony with the aim of the series, as a standard work on its subject.

The first four paragraphs of the Introduction are historical and theological. The first two contain a vivid sketch of the time of Jeremiah and of his own life, presenting the new problems which rose before the prophet out of the effects of the enforcement of Deuteronomy, and the Babylonian invasion, with remarkable clearness and truth. The third is a just but sympathetic analysis of the most interesting, and fortunately the most clearly unveiled personality in all the history of Israel; very admirable is the treatment of Jeremiah's outbursts upon his enemies, and the defence of his patriotism as against Duncker's somewhat stupid depreciations. The fourth paragraph, on "The Theological Significance of Jeremiah," contains a valuable differentiation of Jeremiah's teaching from that of the older prophets. The contrast between the kind of controversy into which his generation forced him, and the polemic of Amos and Isaiah, is well put. I miss only some statement of the wonderful way in which Hosea—the likeness of whose personal experience to that of Jeremiah's Dr Giesebrecht has already pointed out—anticipated in germ most of the distinctive doctrines of his great follower.

In the fifth and sixth paragraphs the book itself is treated. We have room only to state the general results. With regard to authorship, Giesebrecht divides the fifty-two chapters into three divisions. First, he takes those in which Jeremiah speaks in the first person, some twenty-six out of our first thirty-five, and assigns them to the prophet himself. A second stratum of some eighteen and a-half chapters, scattered between our chapters xix. and xlix., he derives from Baruch. All the rest he takes to be the inventions and additions of later writers. For the late dates of many of these last subtractions Dr Giesebrecht, it will be admitted, has very good reasons, some historical and some derived from the LXX. version of Jeremiah which differs so widely from the Massoretic. Less general agreement will be accorded to his division of the authentic scriptures of the prophet from the additions by Baruch. The use of the personal pronoun on which he relies, is not always a certain test; he also indicates a difference in style (p. 18), but neither is this conclusive. The argument, however, is cautious; and on the main contention that besides prophecies extant as they came from the hand of the prophet himself, we have a considerable number of others which we owe to "the good memory" of Baruch, he is doubtless right.

But the part of the Introduction on which most work has been expended is that which treats of the extraordinary differences between the Massoretic and Septuagint texts of Jeremiah. Dr Giesebrecht makes use of the works of Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Workman in this sphere. But his use is discriminating: and the whole of the differences have been classified by him afresh. There

could be no more useful analysis for the student of Jeremiah. Avoiding the extremes of Graf, who too much depreciates the LXX., and of Workman, who unduly exalts it, he claims that each difference between LXX. and Hebrew must be separately examined, and so arrives at the following just, and, if not novel, yet always independent, conclusions. Though it is obvious that the Greek translator had a bad MS. which confounded letters and had grave omissions, he himself was not blameless, as is chiefly evident from the fact that he frequently gives translations not of the very Hebrew words, but of their synonyms, changes due partly to his ignorance and partly to his free use of the text. On the other hand, he frequently supplies a better reading where the Hebrew is wholly unsuitable, or in need of a slight alteration; some of his additions are justified by their necessity and their style; many of his omissions are of obvious glosses. His method of translation as well as his ignorance of many phrases is illustrated in detail; and in general Kuenen's conclusions on these points, and of the infrequency of changes introduced by the translator for theological reasons, are confirmed. Professor Giesebrecht then treats of the passages omitted in the LXX., which amount to one-eighth of the whole book, and of its very few additions to the Hebrew text. Of the latter he finds that only in twenty-three cases, all very small, has the LXX. the better and older material. Of the former a good many are glosses, probably of later date than the LXX.; but from this we must not infer that the LXX. has a better text behind it in every single case where it is briefer. Where the translator had difficulties—and we have already seen that often he was ignorant—there he contracted or omitted. It can be proved that he did so with single words; he may have been equally remiss with whole sentences. He was further tempted to compress, by the redundant style of Jeremiah; he left out synonyms and shortened parallels. But it is often impossible to decide whether an omission is due to him or to the text from which he worked. This appears not to have been very good; nor is it any proof of its greater purity that it has none of the "doublettes" which appear in the Hebrew, for these may have come into the Hebrew text after the LXX. version was made.

Such is the course of this careful and judicious analysis. No further words need be added on its value to the student, both as a statement of the whole case between the LXX. and the Massoretes on the book on which they most differ, and as an independent and clearer proof of the conclusions of the best critics.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

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**Studien zur Topographie des Nördlichen Ostjordanlandes.**

Von *D. Frants Buhl*, Professor, Leipzig. Leipzig: Georg Böhme.  
 Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Price,  
 M. 1.

IN twenty quarto pages Professor Buhl, who has himself travelled on the East of the Jordan, gives a lucid description of the natural features of the land between the Yarmuk and Hermon, collects all the references to it in history up to Trajan's constitution of the province of Arabia in 106 A.D.; and then discusses the proposed identifications of several ancient cities, adding one or two of his own. The physical description and historical summary contribute nothing new. They are clear, full, correct. It is interesting to note that so great an authority on the Old Testament agrees with most critics in believing the accounts of Moses' campaign against Bashan "hardly compatible with the older sources" (p. 7). To me it still seems probable that such eastern conquests took place before Israel's crossing of the Jordan, for the geographical reasons I have stated in my *Historical Geography* (575 ff. 664); and I note that Professor Buhl emphasises Josh. xiii. 13, a contribution from a very ancient source, as proof that the conquest of Eastern Palestine took place at least at a very early date. Professor Buhl thinks, "without doubt," that Pompey founded the league of the Decapolis. Surely, when we consider both the character of other city leagues and the fact that the earliest occurrence of the name Decapolis is late in the following century, it is more probable that the league arose long after Pompey, and by the native efforts of the contracting towns. On p. 11 n. 2 Professor Buhl identifies Fik above the Lake of Galilee with Afeka of the *Onomasticon*, but denies that it represents any Old Testament town. Tesil, S.W. of Nawa, he identifies with the Tharsila of the *Onomasticon*, as well as the Tharsila which the LXX. substitute for the Massoretic Tirsā in 2 Kings xv. 14. He rightly disputes the identity of Kasphôn or Kasphôr of 1 Macc. v. 26 with Hasfin. He argues well for the identification of the two cities which Eusebius declares bore in his day the name of Asteroth-Karnaim with El-Merkez and Muzeirib respectively. The latter, he thinks, was most probably the Old Testament town of the name, Gen. xiv., etc., as well as the Karnaim of 1 Macc. v. Very successful is the identification of the Ephron of 1 Macc. v. Guided by a suggestion of Grätz, who identifies it with the Gefrun of Polybius, Buhl places it in the modern Wady Gafr in northern Gilead.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

**La Pensée Religieuse dans le Nouveau Testament : Étude  
de Théologie Biblique.**

*Par Georges Fulliquet, Docteur des Sciences, Pasteur à Lyon. Paris,  
Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 500.*

THIS is another volume devoted to the study of New Testament theology. The main title, *La Pensée Religieuse dans la Nouveau Testament*, is chosen purposely by the author to intimate to his readers that what interests him in this study is less the bearing of its results upon dogmatic theology than their bearing upon the religious life. This intimation is made good on every page of the book. Scholasticism is our author's *bête noire*. Theology, or *pensée religieuse* (to use his own phrase), has no interest for him, save as it is seen to issue *from* or to issue *in* spiritual experience. His attitude towards theology in its relation to spiritual experience reminds one in many respects of the Ritschlian school—though there is little trace of direct influence.

A new work on New Testament theology challenges comparison with its predecessors, and especially with its more recent predecessors. We miss in M. Fulliquet's work the conciseness and lucidity of Bovon's *Théologie du Nouveau Testament* (issued by the same publishing firm), the perfect mastery of material which gives its delightful orderliness and simplicity to Beyschlag's expositions, and the thorough exegetical preparation which distinguishes Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*. (Our author is well acquainted with Weiss, Beyschlag, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, and Holsten, but has evidently not consulted Wendt.) From a scientific point of view there is a certain looseness in *La Pensée Religieuse*—looseness in the framework of the book, and looseness in the exposition. At the same time, it has merits of its own, as a popular and readable exposition of what has been achieved in the department of New Testament theology; more readable, indeed, than some works of higher scientific pretensions. And this service, it must be conceded, the author has rendered: he has been at pains to make it plain that the modern investigation of "the religious thought in the New Testament" carries with it great gains for the spiritual life of the Christian disciple. There is a warm religious glow in M. Fulliquet's pages which reminds the reader that his author is a Christian teacher, who would persuade men of the wonderfulness of the Christian experience which gives birth to the Christian thought of the New Testament.

The first section of the book is entitled "Introduction," and extends to fifty pages. A good deal in this section has only a slight bearing on what follows in the book, but it is interesting as an

indication of the author's own theological position. The old doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Bible is declared to be no longer tenable (*sable mouvant de l'inspiration litterale* is one of the phrases used). With the authority of the Bible—at least its authority as handled by our fathers—no longer available, another basis must be found on which to rest the argument for Christianity. This our author finds in ethical experience, which vouches for Christianity—the worth of the Gospel, of the Christian life, and of salvation by Christ. He cites Immanuel Kant in this connection, but he seems more familiar with another author he names on the same page, A. Vinet.

In another chapter, entitled “The Christian Foundation and the Foreign Form,” a distinction is drawn between what is essential in Christianity, and the varying forms it assumes to suit the peculiar needs of different ages. The Gospel, as preached at first, was preached to Jews, and naturally there is much in the New Testament which is merely Jewish form, and not eternally valid (*e.g.*, the doctrine of expiation by blood). Later the Gospel was preached to the Greeks, to whose handling of the Christian faith we owe such ontological doctrines as that of the Trinity. (The metaphysical theology of the “Creeds” finds as little favour with our author as with Harnack and Hatch.) After a reference to scholastic theology, the Reformation theology is shown to have its “foreign form.” It had its intimate connection with the Renascence movement. As the scholars of the Renascence delighted to appeal to the ancient classics, so did the Reformation theologians appeal to texts of Scripture, and seek for their doctrines *le cachet d'antiquité*. To this appeal to the mere letter of Scripture texts did they owe (*e.g.*) their forensic doctrine of justification.

Such preliminary discussions, including also the chapter on miracles, are not strictly an “introduction” to what follows in the book; they are rather personal explanations.

One feature of this volume which is emphasized in the Introduction is the importance of keeping the study of the religious thought of the New Testament in close contact with the personality and experience of which the religious thought is the reflection. It is only through the personality and experience of Jesus, our author justly contends, that the teaching of Jesus can be rightly understood. And what is true of the teaching of Jesus is true of that of Paul and John. This insistence upon the connection of religious thought and the life which lies behind it might be singled out as the special feature of this new study in New Testament theology.

The book is divided into four main sections :

- I. The Christ.
- II. The Historical Conception of Christianity.

III. The Psychological Conception of Christianity.

IV. The Mystical Conception of Christianity.

A brief indication of the contents of these sections may be useful.

I. The Christ (*Chapters*: 1. The unique Son of the Father. 2. The Reformer of Israel. 3. The Spiritual Life. 4. The Salvation of the world). In pursuance of his aim to link thought with life, our author fixes upon the holiness of Jesus as the central feature of His life. But while holiness may be the central feature of His life as viewed by others, what our author is really in search of is the central spiritual experience of Jesus. For want of clear thinking in his own mind, the author makes a false start, and lands himself in a strange position. Surely the consciousness of His sonship with the Father was a central spiritual experience of Jesus; yet according to our author, it is only after reflection on His own sinlessness, on the sin of others, and the sense of moral obligation involved in the fact of sin, that Jesus reaches the knowledge of God His Father, and the recognition of His Father's love. In an attempt to derive the religious thought of Jesus from His experience, one would naturally expect a discussion of Christ's consciousness of Himself as the Messiah. But that is passed by, and we have little more than the statement that Jesus recognised Himself to be the Messiah. In spite of our author's emphasis upon "personality and moral experience," he gives us little help towards understanding the inner world of the Son of God and Son of man. There is a pretty full treatment of the various aspects and stages of the life of Jesus, but just what we desiderate is absent, and that which the author's own words lead us to expect—a fresh insight into that Mind that created the religious thought of Christianity.

M. Fulliquet holds that at the time Jesus preached the Sermon on the Mount, He anticipated a great national reformation as the result of His influence, and that it was only towards the close of His ministry that the thought of death was borne in upon Him. The following sentences will indicate how Jesus interpreted the significance of His death. "Thus the man who will find himself in presence of the accomplished fact of the death of Jesus will thereby recognise the odious and tragic character of sin, he will comprehend the moral misery which must be his as long as he submits himself to the influence of the Prince of this world, he will be impelled to throw off the oppressive tyranny, and to demand from Jesus the secret of the spiritual life which He has brought to the world. Thus by the fact of His death, posterity will be rendered able to do that which His contemporaries failed to do—to desire ardently deliverance from sin and to seek eagerly spiritual life. Thus, the work of Jesus will become possible; His influence is assured; it

will take the place of the influence of the Prince of this world. That is just what Jesus desires. If for that His death is necessary, He accepts it" (p. 187.)

II. Historical Conception of Christianity. By this phrase is meant Christianity as interpreted by the original apostolical circle, but it is not made clear why that particular phrase should have been chosen. It suggests that Paul's Christianity was a less faithful exposition of the mind of Jesus than was that of James—a suggestion, however, which our author does not seem to wish to make.

Here as in the other sections our author seeks for the "central experience" of the apostolical circle. "This central experience is not individual but collective," their sympathy with one another. A somewhat vague experience out of which to derive the religious thought of the apostolical circle.

We have a description of the character and religious thought of the early church based on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle of James, and the first Epistle of Peter. Hardly enough allowance is made for the influence of the universalism of Jesus upon his disciples. The Judaism of the early church stands out in strong relief—in too strong relief, especially in view of the fact that under "The Historical Conception of Christianity" we have an analysis of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

III. The Psychological Conception of Christianity (1. Preparation for the Pauline thought. 2. The Pauline Gospel. 3. The Postulates of the Pauline Gospel). This section is perhaps the most satisfactory in the book. At least the author seems to be more conversant with what has been written on the teaching of Paul than with what has been written on the teaching of Jesus or John. He begins with Paul's conversion, though much in Paul's thought has its explanation in the experience of his pre-christian years. Paul's experience is an experience of salvation, he finds himself saved by Jesus from an evil way, where hope had failed him. So his principal thought is that Jesus brings a necessary and sufficient salvation for every man. This is the gist of Paul's experience and of his system (p. 302.) Different stages in Paul's theological development are distinguished as by Weiss and Sabatier. But in the working out of this Pauline development there is no such freshness and ingenuity (arbitrariness it may be thought by some) as in Dr Matheson's *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*. Several of M. Fulliquet's positions call for consideration as *e.g.* that up to the writing of the four great Epistles salvation meant for Paul little more than deliverance from condemnation, and not deliverance from sin itself (p. 320). M. Fulliquet finds no support in Pauline texts for a juridical theory of the atonement.

The true substitution is the substitution of the influence of Christ in the heart in place of the influence of sin in our flesh (p. 342). His ethicizing tendency is pronounced : faith is itself righteousness (p. 349). A believer is not merely declared righteous, but is made righteous through faith (p. 351). Paul's doctrine of predestination is explained through his own experience of God's dealings with him, and it is argued that Paul has no thought of such a thing as a predestination to evil (p. 361).

Under 'The Postulates of the Pauline Gospel' (what is meant by *postulates* in this connection I am unable to conjecture) we have an account of the development of Paul's thought in conflict with Gnostic and other errors. As a way of getting over some difficulties in the prison Epistles, it is suggested that the accounts which Paul received from his messengers of the heresies that were creeping into the churches may not always have been accurate.

Paul in these Epistles becomes a metaphysician to answer the bad metaphysics of the heretics. But his metaphysical construction of the person of Christ does not belong to the essence of the Gospel. It may be put on one side by those who have no interest in metaphysics. "Those are in the line of apostolic tradition who restrain the exercise of the metaphysical faculty in the interest of morality, and give the chief importance to ethical doctrine" (p. 431).

The pastoral Epistles are accepted as Pauline, and treated under the heading : "A familiar talk of Paul with his disciples."

IV. The Mystical Conception of Christianity (1. John the Apostle. 2. The Apocalypse. 3. The formation of the mystical 'thought.' 4. The mystical Gospel).

There is little in this section which calls for special comment. On the authorship of the fourth Gospel, M. Fulliquet says that it may have been written by another than John, but certainly under John's inspiration. Without John's reminiscences, one side of the teaching of Jesus would have been almost lost to us. John did not invent these thoughts of Jesus, he found them in his memory "underlined and illustrated by his own experience" (p. 478). "The historical framework rests upon personal reminiscences. . . . The discourses have been recomposed by the discovery in personal experience of the facts and conceptions with which Jesus was wont to familiarise His disciples" (p. 484).

D. M. Ross.

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**Das Evangelium des Lucas.**

*Erklärt von Dr G. L. Hahn, Professor zu Breslau. Zweiter Band.*  
*Breslau: Morgenstern. Edinburgh and London: Williams*  
*& Norgate. 8vo, pp. 715. Price, M. 14.*

DR HAHN is to be congratulated on the completion of what may be regarded as not only the bulkiest, but the most useful commentary on the Gospel of Luke. The characteristics of the first volume are equally found in the second. There is the same judicious reference to significant textual readings, the same full record of opinion, the same independent and accurate consideration of the language, the same skill in seizing upon and exhibiting the heart of the passage. Dr Hahn has furnished us with a commentary which it is a pleasure to read, and which is quite sure to find its way into general use. It goes without saying that many of his interpretations will be disputed. Frequently he dissents from every previous interpretation, and while it would be unfair to charge him with straining after novelty, certainly his suggestions, although often brilliant, sometimes fail to carry conviction. MARCUS DODS.

**Theologie du Nouveau Testament.**

*Tome Second. L'Enseignement des Apôtres par Jules Bovon.*  
*Lausanne: Bridel. Paris: Fischbacher. Edinburgh and*  
*London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 604. Price, Fr. 12.*

IN this volume, which completes Professor Jules Bovon's New Testament Theology, we have an elaborate treatment of Paulinism, as well as of the Johannine theology, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Catholic Epistles. As in the previous volume, so in this, Professor Bovon shows great independence. It is impossible to predict what view he will take of the authenticity of an epistle or what interpretation he will put upon a given passage. Indeed, the volume is full of surprises. Thus it will no doubt give quite a shock to many critics to find that so entirely free a writer as Professor Bovon, while admitting that there is room for hesitancy regarding the Pastoral Epistles, yet maintains that the hypothesis of their authenticity is, on the whole, the simplest, and best satisfies all the conditions of the problem. Similarly he accepts both Epistles to the Thessalonians as well as the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians. These positions he adopts with a perfect knowledge of what has been urged against them, and with brief but trenchant criticism of alternative suppositions.

To Professor Pfeleiderer's derivation of Paulinism from an amal-

gamation of the theology of Pharisaism with the ideas of Alexandrine thinkers, Professor Bovon firmly objects, and demands that some room should be left for the working of so powerful and original a mind as that of the apostle. He also sharply criticises Professor Pfleiderer's account of the conversion of St Paul. His views throughout are based upon a careful exegesis, and he rarely fails to throw fresh light on important doctrinal passages. Always one is struck by his fairness. He allows each passage to yield its full meaning, and makes no attempt to twist it into agreement with preconceived ideas of his own. Attention is paid to all opinions of any significance, whether they have been advocated by German, French, or English critics. Altogether, we have in Professor Bovon's work a valuable contribution to New Testament theology, which no student of the subject can afford to overlook.

MARCUS DODS.

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### **Conscience : An Essay towards a New Analysis, Deduction and Development of Conscience.**

*By Rev. J. D. Robertson, M.A., D.Sc. Vol. I. New Analysis of Conscience. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 175. Price, 7s. 6d.*

DR ROBERTSON starts from the general position that man is capable of various sensibilities, broadly distinguishable into conscious and unconscious—the latter more correctly designated sentiency or sensitivity ; the former more exactly described as sensibility of relation. "Sensibilities are modifications, psychic or organic, which respond to fitting excitations." They may further be distinguished into those which are higher and those which are lower in rank. The lowest form of sensibility is not accompanied by consciousness : "the lowest conscious form yields sensations proper"—and into these enter natural qualities and relations. The highest in the rank of sensibilities is the moral, because "in addition to the natural qualities and relations of things (just referred to), the moral qualities and relations of persons enter into its composition."

The term "sensibility" in this connection is analysed into "moral susceptibility" and "moral impulse." The former answers to the "minimum of sensational disturbance," *i.e.*, to the element of pleasure or pain which accompanies or follows upon every excitation of sensibility ; the latter is "the attraction to the good and right, and the aversion to evil and wrong, in act or *motive*," and is peculiar to the excitation of the moral sensibility, finding expression in injunction and prohibition ; in "ought" and "shalt not."

Still further, "the pleasures and pains which are the products of the activity of the law in the moral susceptibility are termed *emotions* as distinguished from sensations," because they are "complex," "widely applicable," "contain many relations—many ideal elements," and are "not connected with special seats of sensibility, nor with any part whatever of the bodily framework" (p. 13). On the other hand, "The aversion or attraction which is the product of the law in the moral impulse is a form of *sentiment* as distinguished from sensational force." "Sentiment goes with the preceptive as opposed to the *perceptive* side of conscience."

In conformity to the point of view taken up at the outset, Dr Robertson's position may otherwise be defined as follows:—The free actions of persons excite in men sensations which are accompanied by feelings, *i.e.*, emotions; and by impulses, *i.e.*, sentiments, which take the form of command and prohibition;—which emotions and sentiments are moral, and constitute the activities of conscience or conscience itself. The question then arises, Why do free actions give rise to these emotions and sentiments, with their preceptive and prohibitory concomitants? Why do we perceive them as either right or wrong? Why approve or disapprove them? Why feel impelled to do or avoid them? These crucial questions are treated in the second part of the work headed, "Constitution of the Activities of Conscience," which falls into two great sections designated respectively, "The Formal and the Material Constitution of the Moral Sense and Sense of Duty."

Activities of conscience are "equivalent to the sensibilities in which the moral law is active." Now taking "law" and "constitution" as convertible terms, the definition just adduced will run, "the activities of conscience are equivalent to the sensibilities in which the moral constitution is active." "Moral consciousness," he further says, "may also be employed for moral constitution." So that we are finally landed in a definition of "the activities of conscience" as "the sensibilities in which the moral consciousness is active."

What the moral consciousness is, every one knows:—it is the "sum of ideas or conceptions by means of which moral differences are apprehended and moral demands imposed upon the will."

As we previously saw, "the moral sense is that susceptibility of our nature which is the seat of emotional judgments as to moral differences in motive and action." *Judging* accordingly is its great function. But its judgments merely *declare* right or wrong, they do not constitute it. "The moral distinction, though made known through our susceptibilities and judgments, is independent of them." In fact it is grounded in the very nature of our conceptions of human action:—they are the spring of the judgments in question, and they constitute the moral consciousness.

An analogous thing holds good of the sense of duty, *i.e.*, the impulse in our nature, which is the seat of *active* judgments and sentiments of obligation. "The particular judgments and sentiments do not create or constitute obligation in relation to the will—they only give expression and effect to it." The real source of the authority and power they wield over volition, is "the conceptions of obligation in possession of the particular sense of duty."

The conceptions or ideas, which constitute the moral consciousness or constitution or law, and which thus work in and through the activities of conscience, "fulfil the function of standards in the moral sense and of motives in the sense of duty"; that is, in pronouncing judgment and in urging to action. In the latter case they endow the judgments and sentiments of obligation with the very element that differentiates them; in the former, "they supply the norms of right and wrong by means of which the emotional judgments of the moral sense are made." Thus standard and motive, taken together, become the equivalent of the conceptions or consciousness or constitution or law, active in conscience. And if we can ascertain what the standards and motives are, we shall know what the law is.

The further question then is, whence these conceptions, this consciousness—this constitution, this law; in other words, the standard just referred to.

In Dr Robertson's view there are but three possible theories, two of which he examines only to condemn: the third is the one advanced by himself. The *first* is that advocated by Aristippus, Epicurus, and many others among the ancients, and by Hobbes, Helvetius, Bentham, and Bain among the moderns, and which he designates "*Instinctively selfish, or Individualistic Hedonism.*" This makes conscience ultimately an activity of our instinctively selfish nature, and represents its standard and motive as self-preservation. "Bodily pleasure and pain are active in the moral sense; and fears, or hopes and desires, in connection with it, are the consciousness or constitution, which is the last ground of activities of the sense of *duty* within each of us." The *second*, or "*Instinctively social theory, or Socialistic Hedonism,*" advocated by Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Hume, and Adam Smith, from one point of view; by Leslie Stephen, Clifford, Comte, and Schopenhauer from another; "identifies moral sense and sense of duty with the reflex activities of the social instinct, the manifestations of which occur in the susceptibilities and emotional judgments of natural sympathy, together with the accompanying impulses or sentiments and judgments of obligation; the former attesting what is right, the latter enforcing what is dutiful, in view of this attestation."

The conclusion arrived at with regard to these two theories is that

they are unable to "supply either the kind of standard needed in the moral sense, or the order of motive peculiar to the sense of duty"; besides that "the sensibilities in which they are active are neither high enough in rank nor wide enough in range to yield perceptions, least of all a perception of the moral quality of actions." The *third*, which he designates "*The Distinctively Rational Theory or Humanistic Eudæmonism*," is one of which Confucius and Socrates, Aristotle, Spinoza, and Hegel, Plato and Kant and T. H. Green, differ as they might in philosophical and other respects, have been supporters.

"Expressed in a few words," says the author, "its main position is that conscience is above all things an activity of reason in sensibility, directed to particular acts of willing or choice. Accordingly, the capacity or power which lies at the root of its manifestations is not instinctive, but rational; and although it expresses itself in sensibility, it is an outcome and concomitant of our self-conscious life. Without the speciality of rational and sensitive endowment which we possess, activities of conscience could not come into being, but with it they are inevitable."

But what are the capacities and powers present in *Reason*, which fit it to take the place assigned by the other theories to *Instinct*, in formally constituting activities of conscience? What is it that qualifies reason to play the part of the law in conscience?—rightly asks the author; and this is the crucial point.

He answers:—Reason, instead of playing the passive rôle and dependent function assigned to it in the theories that have been discarded, helplessly following the determinations of instinct, is essentially active, has relatively independent functions in reference to the judgment and control of volition—that is to say, the inherent capacity both of formally *constituting* and perceiving moral qualities in free or self-determined willing, is an integral part of its very essence and life in man. "When we are about to will, the judgment distinguishing a right from a wrong, and obligating us to realize the former, is part of our constitution as rational or self-conscious beings." At the same time, whilst to reason is thus assigned the primacy in activities of the Conscience, we must not forget that it is reason working in and through sensibilities that are native to it, which, as was shown, include also feeling of pleasure or pain, and attraction to, or repulsion from, action. On the ground of the former fact, the theory is described as *Distinctively Rational*; in view of the latter, *Humanistic Eudæmonism*. This latter "cumbersome expression"—to quote Dr Robertson's own description—may be taken to mean "*Human Blessedness, or the higher happiness and well-being of mankind*" in its entirety.

The position finally reached is that the law in conscience is "man's

true and proper being as rational appearing in judgments and sensibility as a potentially universal standard, and actually unconditioned motive for his free and self-determined activity."

The affinity between Dr Robertson's general principle and Kant is obvious, but he criticises "Kant's separation of Reason as Pure from Reason as Practical and his imperfect enumeration and articulation of the categories," as the ground of his failure, "to make clear to others that the same *principle of self-consciousness*, which was the key to nature and our knowledge of it, had *another expression in conscience*." In distinction from Kant, therefore, who relegated conscience to the Practical Reason, Dr Robertson takes up the position that "man, in virtue of his constitution as a distinctively rational or self-conscious being, is in possession of a category or root conception of the good which does not find its realisation in the satisfaction of animal wants and impulses, but points ever in willing to objects and interests distinct from these, as being of a higher or more complex character and wider range. When this original and native conception of the good is brought into relation to particular acts and motives through our judgments and sensibilities, then conscience is constituted." But as "this conception of the good" is also said to be "just the projection of our rational self into our practical consciousness," the importation thereof into the problem can scarcely be regarded as advancing the settlement of the question. Besides that, it seems to involve a departure from the original point of view. Almost as much as this is confessed too when the author says, "The real and full nature of 'right' and 'wrong' and 'ought' and 'ought not,' remains as mysterious as ever. We have only interpreted them in terms of the rational self. The good being the satisfaction of the higher self, that which furthers it is right and obligatory, and that which hinders it is wrong and forbidden."

Such are in brief the salient points of Dr Robertson's "New Analysis, Deduction and Development of Conscience." His work is not easy to read, still less to review. For one thing, his terminology is peculiar; for another, he does not consistently adhere to it. Ample evidence is supplied of wide study, earnest investigation, and independent thought; but the exposition is far from clear. Terms seem to me to be used in divergent senses; definitions to be sometimes tautologies; and premises and conclusions identical, if not in form, yet in fact. The following cases will illustrate my meaning.

Sensibility is first defined as a psychic modification; then as the "seat" of psychic modifications, or as "yielding" psychic modifications, *i.e.*, sensations under excitation from an appropriate object. An interchange like this may be harmless enough in popular discourse, but it is very objectionable in a "new analysis" meant to be both scientific and simple. Again, conscience is defined as "the

activity of the moral law in our sensibilities"; yet shortly after the question is put, "What is the leading characteristic of an activity of conscience?" which, substituting the definition of conscience just quoted, would run, "What is the leading characteristic of the *activity of an activity* of the moral law in our sensibilities?" I am not sure that Dr Robertson's discussion of his important theme has not received a twist through what almost deserves to be called a terminological whim; namely, the anxiety to rehabilitate the term "conscience." For despite the pleas he urges for its retention, it seems to me to deserve the reproach of ambiguity brought against it by writers like Rothe. Whilst useful enough for the purpose of summarily naming that in man which relates to right and wrong, or which has to do with the regulation of his conduct; it is better avoided in scientific treatises. At all events, be the cause what it may, the elaborate analysis which he makes seems to serve little purpose, the deduction to lack continuity, and the development to end in a position which sets aside, instead of fulfilling, the beginning. If the author had really shown either why free personal acts excite moral judgments, when and as simply perceived; or, why the rational nature of the person perceiving free personal acts compels him to characterise them as right or wrong—two aims which seem successively to hover before him—his treatise would have been epoch-making. As it is, in my judgment, it will produce the impression of promising what it fails to accomplish.

D. W. SIMON.

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### Geschichte des Ebräischen Zeitalters.

*Von Carl Niebuhr. Erstes Buch: Bis zum Tode Josua's. Berlin: Georg Nauck. 8vo, pp. vii. 378. Price, M. 8.*

By the "Hebrew Age" the author apparently means that period of history which coincides with the unquestioned spiritual supremacy of Israel. How far the period extends we have yet to learn. The present volume takes us from the Deluge to the conquest of Palestine; but it is to be followed by others, and there is no obvious reason why the narrative should not be continued to the end of the world. The beginning of history at all events is, for Niebuhr, the great Flood, which he dates at 2600 B.C. It is necessary to explain, however, that in the author's view this great catastrophe was "not quite so wet" (*zwar weniger nass*) an affair as is generally supposed. Some slight spate on the Mesopotamian rivers there may have been, but the real fact commemorated in all traditions of the Deluge is neither more nor less than the Semitic invasion of Baby-

lonia. Accordingly, in an introductory chapter we have first a bird's-eye view of the ante-diluvian (*i.e.*, prehistoric) population of the lands which afterwards became the seats of ancient civilisation, and then an account of the causes, the nature, and the effects of the Invasion itself. That the Semitic rule in Babylonia was thus established by a *coup de main*, or that it began so late as the middle of the third millennium, are opinions in which perhaps few Assyriologists will concur; Niebuhr is quite aware of this, and disposes of the adverse evidence to his own satisfaction. In Chapter II. he proceeds to trace in detail the complicated series of migrations started by the "flood," which, in the course of a few centuries, resulted in the distribution of races which existed when the Hebrews entered Palestine. In the beginning of the next chapter he favours us with his views on Pentateuch criticism (which are not so original as might have been expected of him), and then follows the course of that migration which brought the Hebrew people by slow stages and through many adventures from Babylonia to Palestine (Chapter III., "The patriarchal period"). The picture of patriarchal life upsets many prejudices. To begin with, the number of the patriarchs is increased from three to five; and these, if they have less individuality than the familiar figures of Genesis, certainly get through a much greater quantity of work. Instead of being simple shepherds, wandering peacefully from place to place, building altars, and, on the whole, preserving amicable relations with their neighbours, they are military chieftains, with well-armed followers at their back, founding kingdoms and losing them, and generally placing their terror in the land of the living. Ultimately, about B.C. 2040 all these tribes drifted gradually down to Egypt, and inaugurated the empire of the Hyksos. How Joseph became the first Hyksos king of Egypt, and why the Hebrew tradition conceals the fact; how the Hebrews, in opposition to the other Shasw, retained their nomadic habits, and thus gained favour with the restored native dynasty, how they remained behind after the expulsion of their kinsmen, and were appointed to guard the Eastern frontier—all this and much more is fully described in Chapter IV. ("Shasw and Hebrews").

The three remaining chapters are entitled, "Moses," "The Legislation at Kadesh and the Shittim-state," and "Joshua and the Invasion." The Exodus, which is placed in the reign of Thothmes III., is conceived as the unpremeditated sequel to an abortive insurrection, in which the Hebrew tribes took part. The heroes of the revolt were Moses and Aaron. Neither of them was a Hebrew, and happily there is no reason to suppose they were brothers. Moses was a high-born Egyptian, who had given trouble to Thothmes I., and been obliged to take refuge with the Arabian tribes in the

neighbourhood of Petra. There he formed alliances amongst the chiefs, married several of their daughters (Jethro's in particular), and enlisted their sympathy for his designs against the Egyptian government. There, too, he became a convert to the religion of Jahveh, whom he resolved to preach to the enslaved Hebrews in Goshen as the sole God and as their deliverer. Jahveh, although worshipped by the Kenites, Midianites, Moabites, &c., was then practically unknown to the Israelites, and by a shrewd stroke of policy Moses introduced him to them as a Thunder-god—thunderstorms being of rare occurrence in Egypt. But the chief merit of Moses as a religious genius was the suppression of the female consort, whom Jahveh, like every other Canaanitish and Egyptian deity, must originally have had—a suppression so complete that even Niebuhr has difficulty in guessing her name. He inclines to think that it was either Eve or Lilith. When his plans were matured, Moses opened communications with Aaron, another Egyptian, who was at the time Governor of Goshen. Having brought about an understanding between the Midianite chiefs and Aaron, Moses returned to Egypt under the protection of the latter, using the Jahveh-propaganda as a pretext to conceal the true object of his mission. Niebuhr expresses some surprise at the earnestness with which he devoted himself to this very subordinate object. At last the rebellion broke out, and failed, and the Hebrews, with their allies, were compelled to flee. Intercepted and defeated by Thothmes, they took refuge in the swamps of the Bitter Lakes, where they set fire to the marsh-grass—thus producing the pillar of cloud and fire—while the rash Egyptian charioteers, elated by victory, plunged into the deeper waters and perished. Somehow or other the Hebrews escaped from their perilous position, and made for the desert.

It was only now that Moses brought forward his last resource, which he had kept in reserve in case his plans should miscarry—the prospect of an occupation of Canaan. It succeeded beyond his expectation. A new enthusiasm was inspired into the motley and demoralised hordes that had lost their home, and they marched straight through the desert to Kadesh, in the mountains of Seir. Here we expect to get some information about the Mosaic legislation, but on that point the author contents himself with some pages of vague and desultory observations, the drift of which I have mostly failed to understand. The main interest of the story lies in the mutual rivalry of Moses and Aaron, and the compromise by which the latter was established as chief priest of the Jahveh religion. From the first there were two factions in the camp. On the one side was Aaron, with his bodyguard of Libyan mercenaries, who had been doing outpost duty under him in Goshen, and linked their fortunes with his. These Libyans formed the nucleus of the

tribe of Levi. On the other side was Moses, whose old relations with the Ishmaelites gave him now a great advantage over Aaron, which that ambitious person was not disposed to tolerate. The arrival of Jethro in the camp at Kadesh brought matters to a crisis. Aaron resented his presence and influence there as a confederate of Moses and a priest of Jahveh. He determined to become priest himself. While Moses and his friends were absent on one of their secret missions among the neighbouring tribes, he spread a report that they were not likely to be seen again, and thus had the supreme spiritual and secular power thrust on him amidst the acclamations of the whole people. The compact was sealed by a riotous festival in honour of the golden calf. The return of Moses led to an *imbroglio*, in which the Levites fought stoutly for their leader and calf, and the adherents of Moses were compelled to withdraw to a separate camp, where they erected a new sanctuary, and tried to draw over the true Hebrews to their party. Aaron was now put on his mettle, and resolved to attempt the conquest of Canaan at once. Being defeated, he had no alternative but to make terms with Moses and the Ishmaelites. A compromise was arranged, in accordance with which the Tabernacle and the Ark were recognised as the only sanctuaries, but Aaron was installed as high priest. Thus did "Aaron's wounded self-respect play a trick, whose consequences gave to the history of Israel its distinctive character, for they forced Jahvism, which, as a popular religion, had hitherto repudiated caste-distinctions before God, on to the lines of a mediatorial system, after the Egyptian model."

The writer has undoubtedly some of the qualities that go to make a historian. He has read extensively and laboriously in the literature of his subject, and knows his sources at first hand. He has a remarkably original and independent mind, and is absolutely unfettered by respect for the opinion of recognised authorities. Best of all, he possesses what the Germans call "*Combinationsgabe*"—the faculty of detecting affinities between seemingly unrelated facts, and bringing out their real significance by the unexpected light which they are made to throw upon each other. Although he writes with the utmost obscurity, his style is vigorous and pungent; and he has a keen sense of humour, which he might with advantage have turned inwards upon himself more frequently than is the case.

That with all these qualifications he has failed to write a real history is mainly due, as it seems to me, to two outstanding faults. The first is the abuse of that gift of combination to which I have just referred. Putting this and that together is a very dangerous business, unless it be conducted with some caution in the selection of the things to be combined. Now in this matter Niebuhr's pro-

cedure is reckless in the extreme. His method is to fix on those features of a tradition which make for the particular combination that strikes his fancy, and throw the rest overboard. Not unfrequently a statement of Josephus, or a late rabbinical or patristic legend, is treated with all the respect due to a contemporary document, merely because it happens to anticipate or suggest some speculation of the writer's. It is rarely, indeed, that he entirely rejects any tradition. He holds that if it does not state the truth, it must have been invented to conceal a truth; and between what it says and the opposite of what it says, it will go hard but Niebuhr will get something out of it. As might be expected, he is great in etymology, and (*pace* the "eminent German Semitist," who revised the proof sheets) the etymologies are mostly preposterous. Such an equation as this:— $\text{אֲדָמָה} = \text{אֲדָמָה} = \text{ἀδάμας} = \text{Damas, King of Damascus}$ , raises a doubt of the writer's seriousness; this other:— $\text{הַלִּילִית} = \text{הַלִּילָה} = \text{'Αλλὰτ}$ , throws suspicion on his scholarship. And similar examples occur on almost every page.

The second defect of the book is a curious indifference to the ideal and spiritual elements in antiquity. That which alone gives value to the study of ancient history,—the development of social life, the origin and diffusion of ideas and beliefs, the growth of civilisation, &c.,—does not appear to interest the author at all. He has, for example, no sense of the diversity of national character. A Hebrew patriarch, an Egyptian official, an Arabian priest, are all of a piece; they think and act exactly alike. The *dramatis personæ* are nearly all born diplomatists and intriguers—fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils. But the defect is most apparent in the author's treatment of religion. That is a subject which he rarely approaches without displaying a certain shallowness of mind. Of religion as a living force in human life he appears to have no conception; it is wholly an affair of priest-craft and state-craft, as may be seen from the account of the origin of the Hebrew Theocracy noticed above, or from the pages of cheap sarcasm which are devoted to a description of the character of the God Jahveh. A writer who has nothing better than that to say about the religion of Israel, may surely find a more congenial sphere for the exercise of his talents than in an attempt to rewrite the Old Testament.

J. SKINNER.

**De la Connaissance Religieuse. Essai Critique sur de récentes discussions.**

*Par Henri Bois, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Montauban. Paris : Fischbacher. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 363.*

THIS is a laborious contribution to a controversy upon the nature of religious knowledge and revelation, which has been carried on during the last three years in the pages of the *Revue théologique de Montauban*, the *Chrétien évangélique*, and the *Revue chrétienne*, and also by means of separate publications, between M. Paul Sabatier on the one hand, and M. Godet, M. Charles Bois, and M. Henri Bois on the other. The present volume suffers from the defects of a controversial publication. It is mainly a running commentary on the works of M. Sabatier, varied by an occasional examination of the views of other writers. The remarks of M. Bois are often acute in criticism, and occasionally reveal insight; but whatever truth he has to offer would have been far more likely to win its way by means of a positive statement than through these continual references to the views of others.

M. Sabatier had been in search of some conception of Divine Revelation, more tenable in itself, and easier to establish, than that which makes it consist in a communication to the mind of abstract ideas. He had found a starting-point, as he thought, in the actual, concrete relationship between the soul and God. Considered as a Divine Act, this was a manifestation or revelation of God. Considered as a state of mind, it was the germ of both the love and the knowledge of God. M. Bois, on the other hand, while prepared to abandon the idea of revelation as a large system of theoretical truth, sees no difficulty in supposing that certain ideas should be communicated in a theoretical form to the mind upon Divine authority. Dogma is, for him, not a secondary product of revelation, but its original contents.

M. Bois considers that the "concrete religious experience" of M. Sabatier forms no element of objective revelation, and no germ of real religious knowledge. Influenced by this pre-supposition, he feels himself compelled to undertake the defence of dogma, and occupies many pages in making good the position that real knowledge is necessary to religion, and will have effects on conduct.

The real question, however, is this—How is dogma, if not based on experience, to be introduced into the mind? If M. Sabatier never passes beyond the subjective, does M. Bois give any intelligible account of how truths about God, in dogmatic form, arrive within the circle of subjective conviction at all?

So far as he is himself concerned, he finds, it must be said, very little difficulty in relating the subjective and objective elements in religion. "See," he says, "I am in a burning house, and do not know how to save myself. No doubt if you were to seek to explain to me the theory of combustion, or that of the fall of weights, you would never save me. But you call to me, 'Go, throw yourself out of the window of that room; we have put straw and mattresses below.' I go, I leap, and I am saved. . . . In a siege, I have nothing left to eat. Doubtless, you will not save me by expounding the most perfect theory of digestion. But you show me a place where bread is lying hid. I go thither, I take, eat, and am saved. . . . *In the same way*, I am dead in trespasses and sins. God sends His Son, who dies for me; and He tells me, Believe in Him, accept His mediation and His sacrifice" (p. 272). M. Sabatier may be excused if he has found the case somewhat more complicated than these illustrations would make it appear. Even the most convinced believer in revealed fact and Christian dogma will admit at least the relevancy of his question: By what right do we raise to the rank of axioms dogmas which plainly bear the marks of their historical origin? And while there may be a distinction in respect of evidence between fundamental religious truths and mere "theories of salvation," it is a distinction which palpably needs to be defined.

Meanwhile, in the light of history, it is hardly possible to deny M. Sabatier's description of religion as primarily a vague and undefined sense of superior powers, about whom clear and, still more certainly, true intellectual conceptions are only gradually formed. It does not surprise us that M. Bois, with his thesis on the relations of religion and dogma, practically refuses the name of religion to all the so-called religions of history, except the Hebrew and the Christian.

It is a perfectly fair proceeding to criticise the "theology of the religious consciousness"—to show its baselessness, its inability to claim actuality for its results; to point out that historically dogma has been something quite different from an analysis of consciousness, and has rested on believed facts and supposed itself to move among realities: so that the theology of the religious consciousness is not even true to the religious consciousness as it has developed historically. But we are here concerned with M. Bois and M. Sabatier, and with the attempt of the former to shut the latter up to pure subjectivity, and force him to a confession that dogmatic theology means only religious psychology.

And, first, with regard to the elements of Religion, M. Bois himself admits that room is made for the thought of an object in Sabatier's conception of primitive religion. "It appears that our theorist comes into contradiction with himself, and that, in his

genesis of religion, he shows us the idea playing a large part before experience" (pp. 79-81). It is not "before experience" but *in* experience; and the simple fact is that Sabatier admits the recognition of objective Deity in the primitive form of religion. This seems to undermine one half of M. Bois' criticism.

In the case of the second main point of controversy—the method of Revelation—M. Bois himself appears to waver between two conceptions of it. One is, that God reveals Himself in action. It is from this point of view that he criticises the doctrine that Revelation is given through religious experience (p. 245). The main object of his book, indeed, appears to be to prove that this is equivalent to a denial of objective Divine Revelation. To find the data of Revelation in experience is in his opinion to reduce the contents of Revelation to subjective feelings and ideas. He is not to be turned aside by M. Sabatier's explicit acknowledgment of a Divine agency in the experiences in question—"*révélation du Dieu-Esprit dans la vie intime de l'esprit de l'homme*"; and only refers in a footnote to the admission that those experiences were creative and fruitful in a peculiar sense in the prophets, in Christ, and in the apostles. But whether a particular theologian does justice or not to the Divine indwelling or to historical Revelation, it remains true that the Divine activity in the spiritual life must form the starting-point for the theory of Revelation. It cannot be seriously contended that mental facts are not objective realities, or that the inner life is unfitted to be the scene of a real activity and Revelation of God. M. Bois insists that "the fact should be fact," and not idea, and asks for "the local, the contingent, the historical"; but it is a strange misconception to suppose that a Revelation in moral and spiritual history would mean a Revelation in ideas rather than in realities.

But the truth is that M. Bois is not quite committed to the Revelation in reality. The idea of a Revelation of doctrines has a firm hold of his mind. And thus the conception of a spiritual experience, Divinely created and guided, as the unit of Revelation, is antipathetic to his mind for two precisely opposite reasons—on the one hand, because such experience is not "history," and on the other hand, because it is not dogma. It was not, to his view, a Divine Life in men that manifested God to us; but the witnesses of revealing facts were taught what to *think* of them, and those thoughts, those doctrines, are what they are now to teach us (pp. 245, 252, 253). Of the process by which such authoritative thoughts were communicated to men he has a twofold account to give. In some cases they arrived at truths and principles by ordinary psychological means (p. 257); and in these cases, if their authority is not to remain for us more human than Divine, we must

in the end fall back again upon the thought of God at work through their minds and in their experiences. In certain cases, since for him there need be no Divine indwelling and all he requires is supernatural information, M. Bois supposes an action from without of the Divine mind upon the human, conveying knowledge, after some manner which he twice compares with hypnotic suggestion (249-250 ; 255-6).

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

**Nekyia : Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse.**

*Von Albrecht Dieterich. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. vi. 238. Price, M. 6.*

DIETERICH, a pupil in the school of Usener, is (as the readers of his *Abraxas* will be aware) a believer in the early and wholesale Hellenisation of Christianity, and this book (whose title is adopted, of course, from Polygnotus's picture in the Leschè at Delphi of the visit of Odysseus to the lower world, or from the common name in Plutarch and elsewhere for the eleventh book of the Odyssey, where the story is told), is ostensibly a contribution to the explanation of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, discovered in 1892 in the same tomb at Akhmîm, in Lower Egypt, with the *Gospel of Peter*. But it is far more than this. The *Apocalypse* is made a peg whereon to hang an advocacy of the theory that early Christianity owed its conception of heaven and hell mainly to Greek sources. As in his *Abraxas* Dieterich dealt with early Christian cosmology, so in his *Nekyia* he deals with early Christian eschatology. In pursuit of his aim he first gives the text of the new *Apocalypse*, accompanied by a translation and critical notes; and then, after discussing the brief fragments already known to us in Clement of Alexandria, Methodius and Macarius Magnes, and the development of the original Akhmîm text which he argues that these fragments suggest, he proceeds to an elaborate exposition of the classical, the Jewish, and the early Christian views upon the kingdom of the dead, the state of bliss, and the punishments in Hades. He starts systematically with the first beginnings of eschatological ideas in Greek popular belief, and advances through the teaching of the Mysteries and the mythology of the philosophers, till he comes to the *Sibylline Books* and the earliest Christian apocryphal literature. The final purpose of the treatise is to trace the vision of heaven and hell in the Petrine *Apocalypse* straight to the

mystery doctrine of Pythagorean Orphism, and even almost wholly to a definite book or definite books in circulation among the brethren of the Orphic-Pythagorean order in Egypt, where Gospel and Apocalypse had their origin.

It is impossible, in a notice necessarily brief on account of limitation of space, to follow up arguments depending for their force upon accumulation and combination of details gathered not so much from an orchard as from a forest of literature. We must be content with exhibiting the general drift of the conclusions, and commenting upon the apparent strength and weakness of the process.

There is no doubt that Dieterich has brought out, perhaps for the first time so fully and clearly, the similarities or points of contact between the eschatology of the Orphic-Dionysiac cult which showed itself first conspicuously in Thrace, and that of the cult of Apollo at Delphi and the mystery-worship of Demeter and the subterranean deities at Eleusis; and has made it reasonably probable that, after being absorbed and elevated by the Pythagorean religious reformation in South Italy, this Orphism left its mark upon the myths of the Platonic philosophy and upon eschatological conceptions in Egypt, where it enjoyed an organised and reinvigorated life before and during the rise of Christian literature in that country. And the comparison of details, especially as to the punishments in Hades, is so striking as to furnish a strong presumption that Orphic imagery in this respect was largely taken over into the presentation of early Christian eschatological views. But, while all this may be admitted, it is a very different thing to attribute, as our author seems to do, to Pythagorean Orphism, and even to a definite Orphic book, as the single source, the whole, or nearly the whole, of the ideas about the kingdom of the dead found in Platonic myths, in Vergil's *Æneid*, on South Italian or Cretan tablets, and in the main bulk of Egyptian, Jewish, and Christian apocalyptic literature, most especially the *Apocalypse of Peter*. If Dieterich had quoted all the passages containing the Platonic mythology of the dead, it would have been seen that they are too incongruous for any such single source, and Plato himself speaks as if he had access to sources both oral and written. Experts in Egyptian Hades-lore are inclined to trace much of it to primitive tradition in Egypt itself. Jewish curiosity and speculation, so far as it was not original, may have drunk from Egyptian or Persian fountains far more than from Greek; and Christian apocalyptists may have borrowed straight from Jewish storehouses, and not from those of Orpheus-Dionysus-Apollo-Demeter-Pythagoras. Attention has been drawn lately to the fact that an *Apocalypse of Elias*, also found recently at Akhmim, is of distinctly Jewish character, and yet has the penal "mud" and purifying "sulphur" of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Orphic-

Pythagorean eschatology. The supreme excellence of the *Nekyia* lies in its great wealth of reference, combination, illustration and suggestion, and in the solid contribution it thus makes to the science of Comparative Religion. Its chief defect is that sufficient allowance has not been made for the natural and independent growth, in different countries, at the same time or at different times, of similar ideas as to rewards and punishments after death. To start with a theory which makes one cult and one country (in spite of some vague talk about syncretism) the root of a genealogical tree, is to deliver oneself over frequently to fallacy, artifice and dogmatism ; and has occasioned, in the case of this particular work, with all its excellences, a notable absence of precision in fixing the relative contributions to eschatology on the part of the Egyptian, Judaic, Hellenic, and early Christian factors respectively. Dieterich's attempt to trace to Orphism the Christian apocalyptic conception of final bliss is the weakest part of the book, and may be considered, in the main, a failure.

But even if Dieterich has succeeded in proving that the Christian imagery of the punishments in hell comes direct and in the bulk from Orphism, it remains to be decided what Orphism is. The idea of torture in Hades was quite out of harmony with the Greek spirit ; according to that spirit it was, at any rate, reserved for the most conspicuous impiety, just as signal bliss after death was reserved for the most conspicuous merit. The ordinary man and woman passed away to a fate which was neither the one nor the other. Orphism was not genuinely Hellenic : it was rather a protest against Hellenism ; and Pythagoreanism and Eleusinianism found it congruous with their efforts after moral rigour and religious reform. Neither was the idea of torture after death strictly indigenous to Egyptian soil ; and the religious influence of Egypt over Greece was at least as potent as that of Greece over Egypt : Isis and Osiris measured strength with Demeter and Apollo. What Orphism essentially was, and what was the place of its birth, are problems still unsolved. Perhaps, after all, it was not a child whose parentage any single nation or race could properly claim : it may have been a spirit bubbling up among divers peoples at divers times, wherever and whenever the consciousness impressed itself that wickedness could not always flourish, or righteousness remain for ever unrewarded. And this consciousness was far less characteristic of the Hellenic than of the Oriental world.

JOHN MASSIE.

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**Sībawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik.**

*Nach der Ausgabe von H. Derenbourg und dem Commentar des Sīrāfi: übersetzt und erklärt und mit Auszügen aus Sīrāfi und anderen Commentaren versehen, von Dr G. Jahn, Professor in Königsberg. Mit Unterstützung der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Lieferungen, 1-5. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard, 1894-95. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Price, M. 4 each part.*

THE publication of a translation of the book of Sībawaihi reminds us of the antiquity of the Science of Arabic Grammar, and serves to mark the progress that has been made in the study by modern European scholars. The name of Sībawaihi takes us back almost to the fountain-head, for only the names have been preserved of the works on the same subject that preceded his, while his work, known as "the book" *par excellence*, has come down to us from about the year 150 of the Hijrah—that is to say, about the middle of the eighth century of our era.

The pre-Islamic poems that have been preserved show that, in the century before Mohammed, the Arabic language had reached a high degree of culture; but it was not till the codification of the Koran had taken place that an impulse was given to its systematic study. For the proper understanding of the sacred book it was necessary not only that historical allusions and personal references should be explained, which became the function of Tradition, but also that usages of words and phrases should be elucidated. This led to the study of the language in many aspects, and the Science of Grammar, which may be considered the chief of the specific Arabic Sciences, was one of the results. Expressions in the sacred book were illustrated and explained by examples from the poems and other compositions that had been handed down from early times, the idiom of the pure natives of Arabia being regarded as the standard of excellence.

The first impulse to the preparation of a treatise on Grammar is ascribed to the Caliph Ali ibn Abi Tālib. It is to be remembered that the wide spread of Islam beyond Arabia, and the use of the Koran by the converts in a language which to many of them was foreign, exposed them to the risk of repeating its phrases inelegantly, or even in a perverted sense. There are several anecdotes told of serious mistakes of this kind occurring, and Ali—as it is related—was so concerned that he urged Abu-l-Aswad ed-Duwali to prepare a treatise which should fix the rules of Grammar, and preserve the language inviolate. This Abu-l-Aswad, after hesita-

tion, consented to do ; and the fifth from him in a direct succession of master and pupil was Al-Khalil, the preceptor of Sībawaihi, and the reputed discoverer of the rules of Prosody, who died A.D. 718-19. Sībawaihi himself (for so the Arabs pronounce his name, though, as a Persian word, it is more correctly Sībūyah), received this name, it is said, from the *apple*-tint of his complexion. He was a native of Basra, his rival in the School of Cufa being Kisā'i ; and there is a story related of an encounter between them, which is so characteristic that it is worth repeating. Coming together at Bagdad, they had a dispute over the correct syntax of a familiar phrase, Kisā'i maintaining that the usage of the Arabs was one way, while Sībawaihi maintained that it was another. It was agreed to call in an Arab of the desert, and abide by his dictum. Al-Amīn, however (son of Harūn-ar-Rashīd), to whom Kisā'i had been tutor, solicitous for the reputation of his master, discovered, in a private interview with the Arab before he was brought in, that Sībawaihi was right, and endeavoured to induce the man to give the phrase as Kisā'i had uttered it. This the Arab stoutly declared to be impossible, for that his tongue would refuse to pronounce the words incorrectly. Whereupon he was told that the two phrases would be proposed to him, and when asked whether Kisā'i or Sībawaihi was right, he must declare for Kisā'i ; to which he replied, "That is a thing that can be done." As the story runs, Sībawaihi retired from Bagdad in disgust, and, indeed, was so disappointed with the "public" of his day that he ordered his book to be buried along with him. He died about the age of forty ; and it is said that Al-Akhfash, who is described as both his pupil and his teacher, gave thirty dinars to Sībawaihi's heirs to have the treasure disinterred. Certain it is that the book enjoyed the highest esteem. One after another is quoted as speaking in the highest terms in its praise, so much so that Muharrad declared there was no book on any Science so valuable ; for whereas books devoted to different Sciences did not make other works superfluous, the book of Sībawaihi renders every other work useless to him who comprehends it well.

In point of fact, all subsequent grammarians appealed to him as an authority, and the book was copied and commented upon for generations with the utmost diligence. The MSS., of which there are many in different countries, show by the care bestowed upon them how high a value was placed upon the work. "The margins," says Derenbourg, "bear the traces of ardent discussions and swarm with notes and comments belonging to different periods, which more than once finally invade the text, and have incorporated themselves so intimately with it that one would endeavour in vain to disentangle them." But though this high value was set on the work, the labours of commentators brought it about that succeeding

authors produced works which, by their greater lucidity, have come to be used as authorities, and supplanted the original Sibawaihi, just as he outstripped all his predecessors. Yet again, just in proportion as these later authorities were studied, his influence upon them was the more strongly felt, and there has been, so to speak, a gradual working backwards to the first authority.

When De Sacy published his *Anthologie Grammaticale* in 1829, he included Sibawaihi among the authors from whom he presented selections, but the manuscript from which he drew these was not even indicated in the catalogue of the Royal Library in which it had a place; and he himself confessed that he had not had time to study it sufficiently to pronounce an opinion upon it from full knowledge, though it appeared to him to be far from arranged on a rigorous method, such as is observable in works of more recent grammarians. The late Professor Fleischer, a pupil of De Sacy, who did more than any in this generation to foster the study of Arabic grammar after the Arabic method, as long ago as 1867 encouraged his distinguished pupil Derenbourg to persevere in his intention to prepare an edition of Sibawaihi's book, although he was of opinion that it could only be understood after the works of some of the later grammarians had been published. Accordingly, under the auspices of the German Oriental Society, the commentary of Ibn Ja'ish on the Mufasssal of Zamachshari was taken in hand in 1876 by Dr Jahn, and the second volume was only completed after ten years. Meanwhile, Derenbourg found himself in a position to carry out his design, and his edition of the text of Sibawaihi is now completed, the first volume being dated 1881 and the concluding part of the second volume 1889.

The work now under notice is a German translation by the same Dr Jahn of the text of Sibawaihi, with the commentary (in Arabic) of Sirâfi, the most famous of the commentators, the pagination of the two being for convenience reckoned separately. Where Ibn Ja'ish has already sufficiently elucidated a matter, the editor has not thought it necessary to repeat the comments of Sirâfi; and where the text from which the translation is made diverges from that of Derenbourg, the fact is indicated.

Though the work thus takes us back to the beginning of Arabic grammar, it is not by any means a book for beginners, even in the translation. The editor says expressly it is for specialists, and only for such as are in a position to compare the original with the translation. The translation seeks not to take the place of the original, but only to make it intelligible. The reader must, in fact, have the original before him and turn to the lines indicated for the illustrative examples. What is recommended is a synoptic reading of the original, the translation, the explanations of Sirâfi, and the

relative sections of Ibn Ja'ish. Nevertheless, many a scholar who has spent painful years in the study of the native grammars will be thankful to Dr Jahn for the lucid form in which he has cast his rendering of the famous "Book."

It only remains to be said that the work appears in the best form, the German type being bold and well spaced, and the Arabic type clear and carefully pointed in the necessary places. The five parts which we have received bring the work up to the 151st page of Derenbourg's text, the pagination of which is indicated on the margin. Since, however, there are above 900 pages of text, the publishers have not asked too much in promising to finish the translation in three years. They deserve every encouragement. The work ought to find a place in every learned library. It will, in the first place, give immense assistance to specialists in Arabic, and, by and by, no doubt its influence will be felt in the wider circles of Semitic learning.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

### **The Foundations of Belief: Being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology.**

*By the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, Author of "A Defence of Philosophic Doubt," etc. London: Longmans, Green & Co.; and New York: 15 East Sixteenth Street, 1895. Svo, pp. viii. 356. Price 12s. 6d.*

WHATEVER may be thought of some of the criticisms in this volume or of the general value of its constructive work, it must at once be acknowledged to be a notable, helpful, brilliant book. It comes with a special attraction and with a peculiar claim upon our regard due to the fact that it is the work—not of a professed metaphysician or theologian, but of a prominent statesman. A serious contribution to philosophy and religion made by a man occupying one of the first positions in English public life, and engaged in the arduous task of leading a great parliamentary party, is not an everyday occurrence. When such a thing happens, interest is at once quickened and attention secured. A book offered to the public under such conditions starts with great advantages on its side, and is not unlikely to be rated higher at first than a deliberate judgment may finally allow. The most grudging reader, however, will scarcely say this of Mr Balfour's volume. It has intrinsic merits which are more than sufficient to challenge our respect and admiration, apart from all accidental recommendations. It is a book that would have arrested attention by whomsoever written—a book of the order to which Butler's *Analogy* belongs, or, if that may seem too much to say of it, a book at least of the order to which Dean Mansel's *Limits of*

*Religious Thought* belongs. Those who were young men, full of the enthusiasm of truth, when the famous Bampton Lectures were published, know what a baptism of the spirit the book brought them. However they may have come to think in later years of much that satisfied and inspired them in these earlier and more buoyant days, they cannot forget how Mansel's book seemed to banish difficulties, clear the mental vision, and widen the horizon of faith. If they read Mr Balfour's volume now, they will probably find it recall some important passages in their own intellectual and religious experience. They will probably also prophesy for it a career like that which Mansel's Lectures have had, and a similar place at last in the ranks of books of religious defence, which have made a deep impression and exercised a great influence.

To say that its argument is planned with an admirable simplicity, and that the reasonings which contribute to its proof are conducted not only with skill, but with a rare restraint which keeps them in most cases far within the limit of overstatement, is to mention but one of its merits. There is a splendid reverence in it, a note of deep religious conviction which is kept well under command, but sometimes breaks out with all the greater impressiveness. There is a quality in its style which makes it charming reading—a lucidity and a directness which pass often into a lofty, natural eloquence. Its abstrusest discussions and most elaborate criticisms are illumined by telling illustration, keen satire, quick wit, gracious irony, and flashes of genial cleverness. It is pervaded withal by an engaging and transparent honesty, a moderation that now and again amounts almost to a hesitation about its own most important averments, a fairness which studies equally to avoid all injustice to an opponent, and to hide no weak spot in its own positions.

The author puts in a modest claim for his book. He wishes it to be understood to be addressed to the general reader, and to aim at nothing more than a series of Notes on a profound subject. It is meant to serve as an Introduction to Theology, not in the sense of furnishing a conspectus of the matters and methods of Theology, but in the sense of dealing with certain questions which are preliminary to Theology proper. The author also disclaims any thought of attempting a definite Christian Apologetic. It is not his object to show the reasonableness of the great doctrines which make the general Creed of Christendom. Only towards the end of his book does he commit himself to anything of that kind, and even then only in part. He does this with most system and with conspicuous success, so far as he follows out his statement, in certain suggestive and eloquent paragraphs in which he exhibits the place and meaning of the Incarnation. The goal to which he leads on his whole argument, indeed, is this truth, as the truth which relieves the

intellectual difficulty created by the apparent insignificance of man in the midst of the immensities and eternities of the universe, and the kindred difficulty caused by the mystery of suffering. But what the book as a whole grapples with is, not the defence of the central doctrine or any of the particular doctrines of the Christian Creed, but something more general than this and preliminary to it. It aims at freeing the matter of religious belief, as such, from certain doubts and difficulties which are due to the want of a proper relation to the problem of the world as a whole, and at removing "a certain superficiality and one-sidedness" into which we habitually fall in our way of looking at the great questions of belief. This limits and defines the service which the book aspires to render. It is a service, however, in which any measure of success means much to all serious thinkers, and very much to those who, by natural mental bent or peculiar openness to the impressions of the scientific and philosophical *Zeit-geist*, have the greatest difficulty in adjusting the promptings of religious faith to the demands of reason. The help which the book offers to minds of this order is the help of "doubting their doubts away." In this preliminary ministry, which aims at making a free way for faith, Mr Balfour is a discreet guide and an efficient worker. In this, too, there is a general resemblance between his principles and methods, and those of the old Scotch School. It was the familiar motto of the latter that no problem emerges in Theology which has not first emerged in Philosophy. In the same way, the keynote to Mr Balfour's whole position is given in these words—"The decisive battles of Theology are fought beyond its frontiers. It is not over purely religious controversies that the cause of religion is lost or won. The judgments we shall form upon its special problems are commonly settled for us by our general mode of looking at the Universe; and this again, in so far as it is determined by arguments at all, is determined by arguments of so wide a scope that they can seldom be claimed as more nearly concerned with Theology, than with the philosophy of Science or of Ethics." This is the Hamiltonian and Manselian platform with extensions.

Addressing himself to this work of describing and recommending the proper attitude of mind in relation to Science and Belief, Mr Balfour develops his argument in four sections. He begins by considering "Some Consequences of Belief," and proceeds to state "Some Reasons for Belief," and "Some Causes of Belief." Having done this, he approaches the constructive side of his task, and gives certain "Suggestions towards a Provisional Philosophy." He concludes with two important chapters, rich in fertile ideas, on "Science and Theology" and on a "Provisional Unification."

In each of these four parts there is much that is vigorously stated

and convincingly argued; much that will be felt by minds of a certain order to be a real aid to faith. In each, too, there are things which are open to question. His exposition and criticism of Idealism are not likely to satisfy the adherents of that important school of philosophy. He holds himself discharged by the nature and destination of his own argument from the duty of examining the principles of Transcendental Idealism as they are given by the great German thinkers. He judges rightly that, in order to bring it into relation with his purpose, German Transcendentalism would require to be translated into English thought as well as into English terms. He confines himself, therefore, to the English Idealists, and, naturally, gives special attention to Mr T. H. Green. His chapter on "Idealism, after some Recent English Writings," shows how enviable a faculty Mr Balfour possesses for lucid exposition of abstruse reasoning, and how appreciative he can be of a system of thought widely different from his own. He recognises the ability of books like Mr Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*, and the power and charm of Professor Edward Caird's writings. He values highly the fine qualities in the spiritual philosophy of Mr Green, and the loftiness of its aims. He could wish the Idealist all success in the enterprise of delivering us from a scepticism which is thought to be inherent in a mistaken theory of perception. He could wish him all success, too, in the attempt to exhibit Reason as the "very essence of all that is or can be," and in his strenuous endeavour to find an unchallengeable basis for man's moral freedom. But he fails to see that Idealism, whether German or English, has succeeded in these high undertakings, and he subjects it here to some formidable criticisms; he conceives that the higher unity, which Professor Caird thinks is made necessary by the existence of the two opposites of a world of objects and a perceiving mind, and which he identifies with God, means, in reality, that "God Himself would require some yet higher deity to explain His existence." He expresses himself on the Idealist theory of the "I" in a way which suggests that he does not set so high a value on the Hegelian view of the Self as Hegelians claim for it. We confess to some sympathy with him in this. The advantage gained by speaking of a *Self* and *activities*, rather than of a *Mind* and *faculties*, is no doubt something, but it is not everything. But, apart from this, it will scarcely be allowed by Idealists that Mr Balfour gives an adequate statement of the *Self* which they have in view. Above all, however, it seems to us that full justice is not done to the Idealist doctrine of moral freedom. Both in this chapter and in the very important section which is devoted to the consideration of "Naturalism and Ethics," the question is made to turn on a choice between two absolute opposites, *Determinism* and a kind

of Freedom, which seems to us to be undistinguishable from arbitrariness. Determinism is essentially mechanical determinism, and the distinction between *necessity* and *certainly* is practically overlooked. It is as if the question of Teleology were argued on the basis of a choice between two opposites—mechanism and finality—having no relation, no possibility of working the one by the other, the one to the other, but being simply exclusive of each other.

The system of thought, however, that Mr Balfour has specially in view is not Idealism, but what he calls *Naturalism*. By this he means what others might term Empiricism, or Materialism, less appropriately (though he deals with it as if it meant the same), Agnosticism—the system founded on the principle, that our knowledge is limited to phenomena and their laws, and that for us the only reality is the “World, which is revealed through perception, and which is the subject-matter of the Natural Sciences.” The poverty, the insufficiency, the inherent inconsistency of this system, and the logical absurdities or irrational ideas which are bound up with it, are unveiled with a masterly hand. This theory, which regards all the higher qualities of man, rational, æsthetic, and moral, as the slow work of purely physical forces, to which, neither in themselves nor in their aim, any grandeur can be ascribed, involves an ignoble view of all that gives dignity to human life. “If naturalism be true,” says Mr Balfour justly, “or rather, if it be the whole truth, then is morality but a bare catalogue of utilitarian precepts, beauty but the chance occasion of a passing pleasure, reason but the dim passage from one set of unthinking habits to another.” But, what is more, it implies a limited and equally ignoble view of Nature itself. It means that Nature is something which is “indifferent to our happiness, indifferent to our morals, but sedulous of our survival, commends disinterested virtue to our practice by decking it out in all the splendour which the specifically ethical sentiments alone are capable of supplying.” Nature, in short, is a cunning mistress, engaged in a series of tricks and devices, by which she deceives us into what is needful for our preservation, and lures us on to an altruism which has no intrinsic ethical quality, and into the doing of things and the pursuit of ideas which have no other value than a “protective” value, like that which belongs to the “blotches on the beetle’s back.” But Nature in this way is made at the same time a heap of incongruities. For in proportion as she advances the evolution of the species, and its progress towards knowledge and higher things, she stands self-convicted of destroying what she has laboriously built up, and of rending the very veil of delusion by which she has kept us in being, and moved us up from the lower to the higher.

One of the most important and characteristic parts of the argu-

ment is the proof which Mr Balfour offers of the very subordinate place which really belongs to reason in the formation of our ideas, and in the working out of our lives generally. He shows, in a very powerful manner, that in the beliefs which make the motive forces of life we owe vastly less to reason than to what he calls *Authority*, and sometimes *Custom*. He says much of a certain "psychological climate" to which we are large debtors, and of an irrational basis or source of much that we accept and act on. In this he is at one with Mr Kidd, and the general argument of his *Social Evolution*. In both writers there is a measure of uncertainty and an appearance of exaggeration in the statements which they make in this direction, which is due to the terms which they use. Neither *authority* nor *custom* seems the happiest term for what they have in view, and *Reason* in this connection must have the limited sense of the discursive Reason, or the logical faculty. But to this effect it is true that the beliefs and ideas on which we act most habitually, and through which the larger part of the business of life is carried on, become ours, not by processes of logic or by conscious reasoning, but as the gift of inheritance, surroundings, mental climate, and things about us and behind us, which are not of the nature of reasoning. Is this, then, to bring us finally to a view of life and the world which fails to recognise Reason at the heart of things? Or is its logical conclusion this—that it leaves the rational to develop itself somehow out of the irrational? Without proper explanation that might seem to be the case. But it is not so. For these causes or inducements of belief, which are not immediately the obvious work of Reason, are surely themselves to be traced back to thoughts and movements which were *ab initio* the children of Reason—a consideration to which Mr Balfour does not seem to give sufficient regard. But further, and here Mr Balfour's statement is all that could be desired, all this implies that there must be Reason presiding over the whole movement, controlling all this process of instinctive, unconscious, unreasoned acceptance of beliefs and habit of action, and directing all towards the realisation of a great purpose. So Mr Balfour brings us in the end to a position in which we are made to see that such a presupposition as the existence and guidance of a "living God" is not "only tolerated, but is actually required by science; that if it be accepted in the case of science, it can hardly be refused in the case of ethics, æsthetics or theology; and that, if it be thus accepted as a general principle, applicable to the whole circuit of belief, it will be found to provide us with a working solution of some, at least, of the difficulties with which naturalism is incompetent to deal."

The critical part of the book is better than the constructive, though both are of real value. The success of the argument lies

mainly in the proof which it gives that science needs its assumptions and presuppositions at least as much as Theology does, and that there are no difficulties belonging to the foundations of religious belief which do not belong in equal or greater measure to the foundations of science. It also achieves no inconsiderable measure of success in its constructive conclusion. But it is of the nature of all such arguments that the constructive side is opener to doubt than the other. There are things in the constructive section of this book which are capable of being turned, as was done with Mansel's great argument, to the very opposite effect, and used for destructive purposes. But we cannot speak too highly of the intention and spirit of the book, of the charm of its style and the brilliancy of its reasonings, of its seriousness and its grasp of the deep questions of faith.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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### **Socialism.**

*By Robert Flint, Professor in the University of Edinburgh.  
London: Isbister & Company, Limited. 8vo, pp. vi. 512.  
Price, 12s. 6d.*

THE movement known as *Socialism* has established itself as one of the great forces of the day. The ideas connected with the term have taken their place among the thoughts and aspirations of masses of men in this country and in other countries. It is impossible to ignore them. They have asserted themselves in a way which constrains even Popes and Church Congresses to debate them and give elaborate pronouncements upon them. They involve issues which make it certain that they must continue to engage the public mind, and that they will push on to results. What these results shall be it is impossible to forecast. In all probability they will be something different from what either the Socialist or the Individualist looks for—some new development of industry, perhaps essentially co-operative in character, some new order of society which is not even within the horizon at present. It is important in any case to be well informed about this movement, to understand its principles and its aims, and to know the impetus that is behind it. This is all the more important because the term *Socialism* is itself so vague and elastic, and the ideas associated with it are so far from uniform or certain.

Every well-considered contribution to the discussion of the system, and to the solution of the questions involved in it, is to be welcomed. In this volume Professor Flint makes an important addition to the helps at our disposal for the study of a subject which should engage the attention of every patriotic mind. His

book is the more welcome that it is written in a way to appeal to working men and others than professed students of Political Economy. Its attractiveness is all the greater, and its usefulness is likely to be all the more assured, that it recognises most frankly and sympathetically what is good and true in Socialism, while it exposes what is doubtful, mischievous, and deceptive in it.

The book begins appropriately with the fundamental question—*What is Socialism?* The origin of the term and the definitions which have been offered of it are considered at length—at greater length, some might think, than is necessary. So much depends, however, on the statement of the question at issue, and the study of the different applications which have been made of the term is itself so instructive, that too much space will not be felt to have been given to these matters. The use of the word is traced back at least to 1836, when M. Reybaud employed it as an equivalent to what had formerly been designated *Industrialism*, by certain French writers. But it is made plain that the accounts of the origin of the word and its introduction into English use, which are given by John Stuart Mill, Mr Kirkup and others, rest on no solid foundation, and that the whole question has yet to be cleared up. A long series of attempts to define Socialism by the French Academicians, by M. Littré, by Messrs Bradlaugh and Hyndman, by Proudhon, Kaufmann, Karl Marx, Bebel, Adolf Held, Dr Barry, Bishop Westcott, and others, is passed in review. The vagueness and insufficiency of most of these definitions are pungently dealt with. Professor Flint does not hold himself called upon to construct a definition that will satisfy both Socialists and Individualists. He gives the preference on the whole to M. Leroux's statement of Socialism as "a political organisation in which the individual is sacrificed to the society." In harmony with this he explains that he understands by Socialism "any theory of social organisation which sacrifices the legitimate liberties of individuals to the will or interests of the community." This is not a precise definition. We have seen some that are more exact. M. Leroux's definition is justly criticised as failing to recognise the fact that "there may be, and has been, a Socialism, not political, but religious." Professor Flint's definition has its own defects. All definitions, indeed, must seem more or less inadequate so long as the thing itself is so variable a quantity. And if Professor Flint is right in saying that Socialism is "essentially indefinite and indeterminate," he is certainly right in saying that "no definition of Socialism at once true and precise has ever been given, or ever will be given." But this is a view of Socialism which few Socialists will accept. With all their differences they have something in view which is the direct antithesis to Individualism, and which will gain in definiteness and sharpness of outline as things move on.

Of the chapter on the *History of Socialism* it is unnecessary to say more than that it is full of facts, gathered from an immense range of reading, carefully verified and pointedly stated. One very just remark that is made here is that exaggerated ideas are apt to be formed of the progress of German Socialism, because men forget that the doctrines of free trade, unlimited competition, and non-intervention on the part of the State never had the position in Germany which they have had in England. An instinctive estimate is given of the position of Socialism in our own country. It is admitted that a considerable advance has been made, and that the conditions of society and of life which provoke Socialism exist in greater strength in England than in any other country. Nowhere else is so much of the land in the hands of the very few; nowhere else is "industry so dependent on the enterprise of large capitalists;" nowhere else have we "in anything like so small a space above one hundred towns each with above 100,000 inhabitants." These are circumstances which should all tell formidably in favour of Socialism. Their influence in that direction is intensified by the misuse of wealth on the part of many of the very rich; by the wretchedness and degradation in which multitudes of the employed and the large intermittent masses of the unemployed are left; by the density of our population, the complexity of our industrial system, the pressure of competition, and the relaxing of religious faith. All these things are recognised in their full force by Professor Flint, and presented without disguise. Yet he looks with hope upon what is to come out of the confusion, difficulty, and inequality which seem to be inherent in the existing system of things. He looks to the general willingness of the toilers of Great Britain to work; to the increasing sense of the honourableness of labour; to the love of personal independence; to the strong sense which saves the British workman from accepting every new nostrum without question; to the growing feeling of brotherhood, and the "insensible gradations" which fill up the terrible interval between the very rich and the abjectly poor. Setting the one series of facts over against the other, he comes to the conclusion that there is nothing to shut us up to a despairing anticipation of the probable outcome of the miseries and restlessness of the present. "We may be less exposed," he thinks, "to the dangers of Individualism, and more to those of Socialism, than we were twenty years ago, but to be afraid of the speedy and decisive triumph of Socialism is to be foolishly alarmed." This seems to us at once a cheerful and a just conclusion. The times are critical and full of uncertainty. All seems to presage some great industrial change. But England has passed through more threatening times before. The Chartist agitation and the troubles connected with the repeal of the Corn Laws

and the institution of Free Trade, not to speak of the tremendous transition from feudalism, were more ominous movements in their time than anything we have to face at present. The result in each case was less disturbing than was feared, and so will it be no doubt with the social and industrial changes which hang upon the Socialistic agitation.

Touching lightly on Anarchism or Nihilism, Professor Flint subjects Communism, Collectivism, and the whole theory of State Intervention to searching examination. The difficulties attending the practical carrying out of the Communistic programme are summarised in a few telling pages. Communism is dismissed as a system which is "now generally regarded as an effete and undeveloped form of Socialism." Collectivism, the only really living and threatening species of Socialism, is dealt with, however, at length. It is described as "Society organised as the State intervening in all the industrial and economic arrangements of life, possessing almost everything, and so controlling and directing its members, that private and personal enterprises and interests are absorbed in those which are public and collective." This system is held to be inconsistent with the freedom of the individual. It is pronounced to amount to nothing less than a social despotism, and thus to be hostile to the real good of society. Professor Flint undertakes to prove that this is no unjust or hasty indictment. With this object he passes in review the chief positions which have been asserted by the Collectivist leaders, and the principles which have been proclaimed in important Collectivist manifestos and programmes. But, while he convicts them all of being in different degrees destructive of liberty, he is far from assuming an attitude of extreme or unqualified favour towards the opposite doctrine. He admits that Individualism, as it is usually understood, is scarcely less an excess than Collectivism. This is put, perhaps, even too strongly, and the criticisms which are passed on John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer are themselves open at certain points to criticism. Spencerians at least may have some cause to say that their master's contention on behalf of liberty and Individualism is not given quite in the proportion and with the qualifications which belong to it, as it is presented in the philosopher's various writings. But the general judgment passed upon Individualism as a theory which tends unduly to limit the function of the State is just. With all his zeal for liberty, Professor Flint affirms the right of the State to intervene in some measure, and holds that the State will intervene to a greater extent in the future for the "positive development of industry, intelligence, science, morality, and art." To attempt to lay down theoretically the limits of State intervention, however, would be a serious mistake.

Experience and the informing march of events are the best guides in a question of this kind. Hence Professor Flint wisely attempts nothing more than to mention certain general considerations touching moral law, fundamental human liberties, and economic principles, which should condition the application both of Individualism and of Collectivism.

The chapters which follow on *Socialism and Labour*, *Socialism and Capital*, and the *Nationalisation of the Land*, are remarkable, both for the extensive acquaintance which they indicate with the literature of these subjects, and for the strong sense with which the Socialistic doctrines are refuted. Karl Marx naturally occupies the largest share of Professor Flint's attention. The fallacious character of the Marxian theories of wages, labour, and capital, is exposed with a just severity. In terms which are admirably clear and popular, the Socialistic contentions that the value of commodities is given them only by the labour which is expended on them, and that capital is both an indolence and a theft, are refuted.

Much that is both just and pertinent is said on the relations between Socialism and Democracy. But the argument of the book reaches its highest in the closing discussions of the bearing of Socialism on Morality and Religion. With regard to the former it is shown that, as Professor Karl Pearson himself admits, the Socialistic theory of Morality is "based upon the agnostic treatment of the supersensuous"; that personal morality is sacrificed to Social Morality; that the basis of the moral doctrine of Socialism is utilitarianism or altruistic hedonism; that it is assumed that the "sole aim of mankind is happiness in this life, the happiness of society"; that the Socialist ideas of the common virtue of justice are defective and cause "demands for fictitious rights"; and that the whole effect of the system is to recognise no essential moral character in the conduct and habits of individuals, and to "see in the personal virtues no intrinsic value, but only such value as they may have when they happen to be advantageous to the community."

The closing chapter is devoted to a discussion of the question—How is Socialism related to Religion? The conflicting replies which have been returned to the question are examined at some length. There is a careful statement of the proportions of truth and error in the theory that Socialism and Religion have no proper connection with each other. The counter theory, that they are so closely connected as to be practically identical, especially as it is advocated in England by Mr Belford Bax, is shown to mean the suppression of Religion, not its preservation. An appreciative estimate is given of the movement known as Christian Socialism, and of the efforts of men like Maurice and Kingsley to establish a real harmony between Socialism and Religion, so that the one might support and supple-

ment the other. The propriety of the name *Christian Socialism* as applied to this movement, is however, challenged. With regard to the view which is most current among Socialists themselves—the view that there is a natural antagonism between Socialism and Religion—Professor Flint, while judging that there are principles in Socialism which can “only be fully developed in an atmosphere of Religion,” acknowledges that the union between Socialism and Materialism is only too natural, and that had the advocates of the system not regarded the Materialistic creed as “especially favourable to the success of their Socialism,” they would not have faced the “risks and disadvantages of their cause obviously inseparable from allying it to an atheistical philosophy.”

Professor Flint's conclusion is that there is a relation between Socialism and Religion, which is neither a casual relation nor one of identity, nor yet one essentially of harmony, but one which means that, in its efforts to re-organise society, Socialism aims at something which cannot be satisfactorily accomplished without the aid of Religion. This general statement of what Religion can do for Socialism is followed up by some wise and weighty words on the duty of the Christian preacher, and on the mission of the Church, in connection with the urgent social questions of the day.

The book is full of information, sound criticism, and good counsel. It is studiously impartial, and careful to do justice to every element of truth and goodness which exists in the various forms of Socialism. It is a discreet and manly discussion of the whole subject, and one that cannot fail to instruct and guide.

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## Notices.

The most recent addition to the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes* is a volume which bears the title *From the Exile to the Advent*.<sup>1</sup> The period of Jewish history which comes under that title has been comparatively neglected by English scholars till a few years ago. This is especially true of the interval between the last of the Old Testament prophecies and the Christian dispensation. There has been a happy change, however, of late. Renewed attention has been given to these times, and the English reader has been put in possession of more than one popular statement of the history of the period. Mr Fairweather's book is one of the most scholarly and successful of these statements, as it is also one of the best volumes in the series to which it belongs. The opening chapters, which give a summary of the events falling within the

<sup>1</sup> By Rev. William Fairweather, M.A., Kirkcaldy. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 210. Price, 2s.

years B.C. 588-538, exhibit in a telling way the importance of the epoch of the Exile. They describe in a very vivid style the home of the Exiles, the life of the Jews in Babylon, the agency of the prophets of the time, the fortunes of the returning remnant, and the moral effect of the Exile. The Persian, Greek, Maccabean, and Roman periods are then taken up in succession, the main points of the history being given in each case, and pains being taken to bring out what the condition of the people was internally as well as externally. The sketch of the fortunes of the Asmonean dynasty is particularly well done. Not less successful is the account of the Pharisaic reaction under Alexander. One of the chief merits of the book is the attention which it gives to the various influences and ideas which told upon the Jews and made them what Christ found them to be. We may refer in especial to the chapters on the *Conflict between Hellenism and Judaism* in the Greek period, and on the *Revival of Hellenism* in the days of Judas Aristobulus and Alexander Jannaeus. The book is the work of a careful scholar, who has a thorough grasp of his facts and can also set them forth in a clear and popular style.

In this connection we have also to report the publication of two new volumes in the series of *Bible-Class Primers*. *The Making of Israel*,<sup>1</sup> and *The Truth of the Christian Religion*.<sup>2</sup> The former takes up the Old Testament history at the point at which it was left in a previous Primer on *Abraham* by the same writer, and carries it on to the Conquest of the Holy Land. The special purpose of the book is to show how the guidance of God, the discipline of events, and the action of the great personalities of the race made a nation of the Hebrews—a nation of the marked character, the special gifts, and the peculiar relations to God for which Israel is known among the peoples. The latter is a contribution to the defence of the Christian religion, made from the stand-point of the most recent discussions. It opens with a chapter on the contrasts between *Christianity and Heathenism* as history exhibits them at the end of the second century. It proceeds to deal with the *Presuppositions of Christianity*, the contrasts between *Christianity and Judaism*, the problem of the *Gospels*, the picture which they give of the life and teaching of Jesus, and the question of their *Origins*. Further statements on *Hellenism*, the *Supernatural*, and the relations between Christianity and the Roman Empire, lead to the final conclusion.

Mr Buchanan Blake, who has done so much to help the English

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. C. Anderson Scott, B.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 110. Price, 6d.; cloth, 8d.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. Professor James Iverach, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 101. Price, 6d.; cloth, 8d.

reader to understand the Old Testament Prophets by setting their prophecies in their historical connections, gives us now the fifth of his series of Studies.<sup>1</sup> This embraces the second half of Isaiah and the Post-Exilian Prophets. The prophecies with which he deals in this volume are of peculiar interest, and Mr Blake does his best to present them in their proper continuity. Where scholars differ in matters of material moment, the competing views are carefully stated and estimated. The Book of Daniel is included, but the last six chapters of Zechariah are excluded, as belonging to an earlier date. Joel is also omitted, having been already placed in Part I. It is noticed also that while chapters xxiv.-xxvii. of Isaiah are placed in Part II., they are now regarded by most critics as Post-Exilic. The text of the prophecies is first given in a series of thirteen chapters. In a second series of thirteen chapters the historical setting and appropriate explanations are given. In the closing division of the book we get a summary of the "Prophetic Conceptions" in the period in question, a useful "Chronological Table," a "Glossary of Names," and a series of Notes. Mr Blake is to be congratulated on having now completed, in so satisfactory a manner, a study of the Prophets, which will make a large part of the Old Testament a new thing to many English readers.

Professor Shedd of New York has added a third volume<sup>2</sup> to the large and important system of *Dogmatic Theology*, which he published in 1888. This volume is supplementary, and that in two senses. It works out more fully some of the more difficult points stated in the earlier volumes, and it gives a very considerable number of illustrative passages, selected from the writings of theologians of different schools and times. Professor Shedd's system is the completest statement and the most elaborate defence of the Augustinian and Elder-Calvinistic Theology which has been produced in our day. If any one wishes to understand the broad dividing lines of Calvinism and Arminianism, and the more specific points of difference between the older Calvinism and the more recent, it is to Professor Shedd's book that he ought to go. Nowhere else will he find the various questions which are connected with the doctrine of the "self-determined and responsible fall of mankind as a species in Adam" discussed with so much mastery of the entire subject, or with so perfect a conviction of the importance of the issues. The publication of this supplementary volume will be welcome to many. It places at our disposal a wealth of matter,

<sup>1</sup> How to Read the Prophets, &c. By the Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Part V., Isaiah (xl.-lxvi.), and the Post-Exilian Prophets. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, 4s.

<sup>2</sup> Dogmatic Theology. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D. Vol. iii., Supplement. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo, pp. iv. 528. Price, \$4.00.

which will be of use to all who have an interest in the profoundest questions of Theology.

We are glad to see a second edition of Dr Dennis's book on *Foreign Missions*.<sup>1</sup> The volume consists of a series of Lectures, which were delivered in the spring of 1893, in Princeton Theological Seminary. They are the first fruits of a new foundation—a Student's Lectureship on Missions. They are lectures for the present times, their general object being to deal with the *Message of Foreign Missions to the Church*, the *Meaning of the Macedonian Vision*, the *Conflicts of the Foreign Field*, the *Problems of Theory and Method in Missions*, the *Controversies of Christianity with Opposing Religions*, and the *Summary of Success*—all in relation to the present day. The lectures are written in an easy style, which becomes now and again eloquent. They give a mass of facts which it is important to know. Both in form and in contents they are well suited to widen the views of students on the subject of missions, and to deepen their interest in the work.

The Rev. P. Thomson publishes the results of a very painstaking study of the Greek New Testament in his volume on *The Greek Tenses in the New Testament*.<sup>2</sup> His object is to show how much depends upon attention to the distinctions in the Greek Tenses in interpreting the New Testament. He gives, in the first place, a brief statement of the *Origin and Characteristics of New Testament Greek*. This seems to us to be by much the best part of the book. It is a remarkably correct summary of the sources, constitution, and qualities of New Testament Greek, compressed within a very few pages. This is followed by a condensed account of the *Force of the Tenses*. This also is well done on the whole, although some doubtful things are said on the relations of the aorist and the perfect. The bulk of the volume is occupied with a rendering of the four Gospels, which is meant to illustrate the author's general view of the distinctive uses of the Tenses, and their bearing on exact interpretation. There are many good passages in this section, but there are also not a few awkward renderings, and some which are in no sense an improvement on those either of the Authorised Version or the Revised. It is impossible to give details here. But a perusal of Mr Thomson's version of the opening chapters of Mark will probably be enough to satisfy most that this is the case. The book, nevertheless, deserves to be attentively read. It is a careful study,

<sup>1</sup> "Foreign Missions after a Century." By Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beyrout, Syria. New York: Revell. Published also (with Introduction by Professor T. M. Lindsay, D.D.) by Messrs Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh. Cr. 8vo, pp. 308. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. Cr. 8vo, pp. 317. Price 4s. 6d.

and shows a large acquaintance with the subject. Mr Thomson has studied the best grammarians, and done it to purpose. His book will be of use to students of theology.

Mr Lyttelton's excellent translation of Godet's *Lectures in Defence of the Christian Faith*<sup>1</sup> appears in its third edition. It would be difficult to name any book which handles the great questions of Christian Apologetics with a finer combination of the scientific with the popular than this one by the venerable Neuchâtel scholar. Every thing is touched with the skill of one long familiar with the subject, alive to its difficulties, and convinced of the truth of the Christian position by patient and reverent study. The papers on the *Perfect Holiness of Jesus Christ* and His *Divinity* are of particular value.

In his *Handbook to the Psalms*,<sup>2</sup> Dr Sharpe has brought together a great deal of matter bearing on the structure and characteristics of Hebrew poetry, the compilation and divisions of the Psalter, and the authorship and ideas of the Psalms. The book is written from a conservative standpoint, and all that can well be said on the traditional view of the origin and relations of the Psalms is said here. Some new lines of argument are followed in support of the old opinions on the headings, dates, and authorship of the Psalms. These are of some interest, though they are far from convincing. Other matters are dealt with at some length, which seldom find a place in books of this kind. There is a chapter, for example, on the *Topographical and Historical Elements in the Psalms*, and another on the *Poetic Imagery and Treatment of Nature*. These are pleasant and instructive reading. The sections, however, which will be read with most interest, are those on the *Theology* of the Psalms. The names and attributes of God, as they appear in the various sections of the Psalter, the references to the life beyond the grave, and the Messianic Hope are handled in succession. There are chapters also on the inspiration of the Psalms, and on their moral teaching and moral difficulties. In these discussions there are some interesting points. There is a useful appendix also on the *Use of the Psalms in the New Testament*. The book is a laborious collection of things of very different values. It is meant especially for those who are not Hebrew scholars. The Hebrew student will find something to engage his attention, if not to convince his understanding. The general reader will be furnished with a mass of information on many subjects, and will so far be able to draw his own conclusions.

<sup>1</sup> By Professor F. Godet. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 295. Price 4s.

<sup>2</sup> The Student's Handbook to the Psalms, by John Sharpe, D.D., Rector of Elmley Lovett, formerly Fellow of Christ's College. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 4to, pp. xv. 440. Price 12s.

Principal Wace has done much good service as an Apologist, most of all by his Boyle Lectures on *Christianity and Morality*. In his *Christianity and Agnosticism*,<sup>1</sup> he makes a further contribution to the literature of Christian Defence. The Essays which make up this volume have all appeared in print elsewhere—one of them in the report of the proceedings of the Manchester Church Congress, two of them in the *Nineteenth Century*, and four in the *Quarterly Review*. They will bear re-publication, however, in this form. There are several of them that one is glad to have at hand, especially the one on the *Historical Criticism of the New Testament*, which gives a very useful conspectus of recent discussions and their general results, and another of earlier date on the *Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament*. The replies to Mr Huxley, the refutation of Mr Cotter Morison, and the criticism of *Robert Elsmere*, have also many good passages, and will very well bear to be read now.

Dr Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible*,<sup>2</sup> is a book so well known and so generally valued as to make it unnecessary to speak at length of its merits. It is one of the most laborious, exact, and complete works of its kind. It contains all that any one can well desire to have, and is not burdened with matter which is of small profit. It is convenient to use and may be safely trusted not to send one off upon a vain quest. The sixth edition is a thoroughly revised edition, and has the benefit of a *Sketch of recent Explorations in Bible Lands*, contributed by Dr Thomas Nicoll. The book will hold its place against any competitor.

Canon MacColl's *Life Here and Hereafter*<sup>3</sup> is a book of very various contents. Consisting of sermons preached from time to time in Ripon Cathedral, St Paul's, and elsewhere, it gives popular and powerful statements on purity of heart, temptation, party spirit, forgiveness, capital and labour, and similar subjects. It also deals with such topics as *Agnosticism* and the Christian doctrine of *Immortality*. The addresses devoted to the last-named subject are of most interest. There are many suggestive things in these, forcibly stated and appropriately illustrated. There are also some things of very doubtful value—speculations on the powers of the departed, their knowledge of affairs on earth, and the like. One of the most attractive of these discourses, however, is the one

<sup>1</sup> By Henry Wace, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Post 8vo, pp. xxvi. 339. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: George Adam Young & Company. 4to, pp. vi. 1090 and 80. Price, 24s. cloth.

<sup>3</sup> By Malcolm MacColl, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Ripon. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 405. Price, 7s. 6d.

on *The Many Mansions of the Spiritual Realm*. But perhaps the most striking are those in which Canon MacColl grapples with the position in which the doctrine of immortality is placed by modern science, where he states the conclusion that, though at first sight physical science seemed to negative the doctrine, it "now supplies us with a principle which really furnishes us with an antidote to its own scepticism—the principle of the reversal of appearances." There is much original and stimulating thought in the book.

The *Expositor* has now reached the tenth volume of its fourth series.<sup>1</sup> It has a long and honourable record, and its well-earned reputation is sustained by the present issue. Among articles of special interest are those by Professor Beet on the *New Testament Teaching on the Second Coming of Christ*, Professor Bruce on *Paul's Conception of Christianity*, and Professors Lindsay and Cheyne on *Professor W. Robertson Smith's Doctrine of Scripture*. These are but some out of a large number of papers of great value on a wide variety of subjects.

Two books of profound, but very different, religious interest are Ernst Haeckel's *The Confession of Faith of a Man of Science*,<sup>2</sup> and *Thoughts on Religion*,<sup>3</sup> by the late George John Romanes. The former says all that can be said in favour of Monism, and is remarkable among other things for the strength of its rejection of the doctrine of personal immortality on the one hand, and its anxiety on the other hand to conserve religion in some fashion. The God to whom the twentieth century is to build its altars is a certain "triune Divine Ideal," a certain "enforced combination and mutual supplementing" of the "three august Divine Ones," known as the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. The latter volume has all the pathetic interest of a series of reflections and reasonings, often broken and incomplete, which let us into the secret workings of a trained scientific intellect and an open, receptive soul, and show us how the writer won his way back, step by step, from something like blank scepticism to a spiritual faith, which brought him at last into communion with the Christian Church. Both books deserve to be studied and pondered again, and yet again.

*The Life and Letters of Dean Church*<sup>4</sup> will be perused by a wide

<sup>1</sup> Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Monism, as connecting Religion and Science, translated from the German by J. Gilchrist, M.A. London: Adam & Charles Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. 117. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Charles Gore, M.A., Canon of Westminster. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price, 4s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by his daughter, Mary C. Church. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. vii. 355. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

circle of readers. It has the advantage of a delicately written and appreciative preface by Dean Paget. But it has itself all the grace of a touching tribute of filial reverence. From beginning to end, too, it is full of interest. The letters are charming reading, not only by reason of their style, but for what they disclose of the lamented Dean's opinions on many men and many subjects. Newman, Pusey, Tait, Maurice, Stanley, Tyndall, Goldwin Smith, and others come before us in these vivid pages, sometimes in familiar ways, sometimes in unwonted attitudes, in novel lights, and as the subjects of unexpected criticisms or appreciations. After all the contributions which have been made of late years to our knowledge of the Oxford Movement, and even after all that Dean Church himself did for the elucidation of that remarkable movement by his own important volume on the subject, there are things in these letters, many of them nothing more than a few quiet sentences or incidental notes, which we should not willingly miss. They touch the springs of the movement hidden away in the feelings of some of the actors, in the cravings of others, and in the strange arrangements of circumstances. Above all, the book brings us close to one of the purest minds and most reverent spirits of our time, and shows us the secret of the deep and penetrating influence which was exerted by so modest and retiring a personality. It leaves us all the while with the sense that there is more to know of the Dean, or rather with the sense that his was a nature too rare and too unobtrusive to reveal itself to any one in all that it was.

Messrs Adam & Charles Black have reprinted in separate book-form the very weighty article on *Syriac Literature*<sup>1</sup> which the late Professor William Wright, of Cambridge, contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The pre-eminent value of Professor Wright's work is so well understood and thoroughly appreciated by all interested in the subjects on which he wrote, that it is needless to say more of this volume than that it is by the lamented scholar whose name it bears. Certain additions have been made to the original article, which add to the value of the book. In issuing the *History* in this form, the publishers do a service to students.

The *Story of the Nations* series includes now a large number of volumes, most of them of high merit. The volume on the *Crusades*<sup>2</sup> is one of the very best. It is the work of two distinct hands, Mr Kingsford having had to finish what Mr Archer was prevented by ill-health from completing. Mr Kingsford's task

<sup>1</sup> A Short History of Syriac Literature. Cr. 8vo, pp. 296. Price, 6s. net.

<sup>2</sup> By T. A. Archer and Charles Lethbridge Kingsford. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Large cr. 8vo, pp. xxx. 467. Price, 5s.

has been no easy one, but he has done it well. The result is an informing and very attractive book. The authors wisely limit themselves to the history of the Crusades proper, not going beyond the fall of Acre, and the events consequent on that. Hence the sub-title—*The Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. The value of the book would be greatly increased if more were attempted in the way of estimating the internal conditions in which the Crusading movement had its deepest roots. But this is perhaps too much to expect from a study of this kind and these limits. The task which it takes up is certainly done with great success. The sketch of the external events and the memorable passages in the movement is powerfully drawn. The great personages are vividly depicted and carefully characterised. The history of the military orders, their laws, their strength and weakness, the good and the evil which were connected with them, is given in its broad outlines most lucidly. Great events like the fall of Jerusalem, are graphically described. Nor is the story confined entirely to these external things. A good idea is given us of the life of the people in these strange and stormy times. The closing chapter, which deals with the results of the Crusades deserves special notice. We know no book of moderate size that tells this wonderful story so well as Messrs Archer and Kingsford's admirable joint-composition.

The appropriate title of *Central Truths and Side Issues*<sup>1</sup> is given to a series of papers on great doctrinal themes, including the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Resurrection of the Body. The volume is the work of a busy minister in a large city, where the demands on preacher and pastor are very heavy. The discussions show wide acquaintance with the literature of these great subjects, and are valuable as acute and well considered statements of the Confessional doctrine. One of the papers is devoted to an exegetical study of the first two verses of Hebrews vi., and suggests an interpretation of the phrase "doctrine of washings," which, though not convincing, deserves consideration. The papers on the Atonement are perhaps the best in the volume. They give a very clear exposition of the Evangelical view and an able criticism of the alternative or counter theories. There is nothing strained in these studies. All is carefully thought out and modestly put. The book deserves a good reception.

Under the title of *Deutero-graphs*<sup>2</sup> Canon Girdlestone gives the

<sup>1</sup> By Robert G. Balfour, D.D., Minister of Free North Church, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 238. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Arranged and annotated by Robert B. Girdlestone, M.A., Honorary Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 172. Price, 7s. 6d.

results of a study of duplicate passages in the Old Testament. The parallels in the historical books, especially the many sections in Samuel and Kings which have their correspondents in Chronicles, are examined with great care. The minor and more incidental parallels found in the Psalms and the Prophets to paragraphs in the historical books are also noticed. The details of the resemblances and differences are exhibited very clearly, critical and grammatical notes being added where they are most required. We are furnished with a very distinct and instructive view of the amount of matter which is common to the sections, and the variations of different kinds which characterise them. This helps us to understand the problem of the composition of the histories, the plan on which they were constructed, and the sources of their matter. Mr Girdlestone also gives a summary of the conclusions to which, in his judgment, the facts thus elicited point, as regards the state of the Hebrew text, the method of compilation, the authorities used, and the peculiarities of quotation. Among other things he finds that many differences which the critic is apt at first to regard as textual corruptions or various readings, are "probably deliberate dialectical or verbal changes." He discovers two hands at work in the composition of these historical narratives,—one which he terms A, and takes to represent a school rather than an individual, and another called B, which, whether the work of a school or an individual, certainly had A before it. As to the date of these sources or hands, he sees "no reason for bringing A down beyond the date of Jeremiah and Baruch," nor any necessity for "bringing B beyond the age of Nehemiah, if indeed it came so low." There are positions on which the critics have a good deal to say that the Canon does not take into account. But the book is an independent and painstaking study, well worth consideration, and opening up some fruitful lines of inquiry.

To Archdeacon Farrar's unwearied pen we owe a volume on *The Book of Daniel*,<sup>1</sup> which makes one of the latest and most interesting additions to the *Expositor's Bible*. It is written in the Archdeacon's best style. It is instructive and stimulating throughout, and answers in every way the idea of the series to which it belongs. It is most remarkable, however, for its frank and unhesitating acceptance of the critical position. The book opens with a brief but well-put statement of the evidence for and against the historical existence of the prophet. The language of the prophecy is next examined, and the main considerations of a linguistic or philological nature which bear upon the date of the writing are reviewed. The writing of the book, its style, the peculiarities of

<sup>1</sup> London : Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 334. Price, 7s. 6d.

the historic section, the general structure of the composition, the questions of internal evidence, canonicity, and the like, are all discussed in succession in the light of the results of the best historical, archæological, and literary criticism. The general result reached is, that in its present form the book belongs to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that the first six chapters were "never meant to be regarded in any other light than that of moral and religious *Haggadoth*." The spiritual value which belongs to the book of Daniel, even when the utmost demands of criticism are conceded, is strongly asserted and largely illustrated.

Mr Walker's *Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*<sup>1</sup> follows the Authorised Version, and is constructed on the general plan of Cruden, but with certain important improvements. It gives some 50,000 references more than Cruden contains, it accents the proper names, and it adheres throughout to the alphabetical order. The type is clear, and the book altogether is easy to use. It is also remarkably cheap. Without going into all the details which are given in larger books of the kind, or attempting to pass beyond what is essential to a Concordance, it furnishes all that most readers really require, and will be a very welcome aid to many.

We have pleasure also in noticing new editions of Mr Seeley's *The Great Reconciliation and the Reign of Grace*,<sup>2</sup> and Dr T. Campbell Finlayson's *Biological Religion*<sup>3</sup>—an acute criticism of Professor Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World"; also Mr Worley's *The Catholic Revival of the Nineteenth Century*,<sup>4</sup> a course of Lectures giving an admirably popular and in many respects most instructive account of the Oxford Movement in its precursors, its progress, and its results; a series of *Lecture-Sermons*<sup>5</sup> in which Dean Stubbs unfolds with great power the Universal Empire of Christianity; vindicating for the Religion of Christ the supremacy in history, philosophy, law, art, ethics, politics, science, sociology, and poetry; a selection of very useful discourses by different preachers on the *Church of England's Duty to the People of England*<sup>6</sup>; and another similar selec-

<sup>1</sup> By Rev. J. B. R. Walker. Boston and Chicago Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society. Large 8vo, pp. 980. Price, \$2.00.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 306. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: James Clarke & Co. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 86. Price, 1s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 152. Price, 5s.

<sup>5</sup> Christus Imperator. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 215. Price, 6s.

<sup>6</sup> The Church of the People. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 230. Price, 3s. 6d.

tion of sermons by various preachers on *Religion in Common Life*.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Erich Haupt of Halle makes an original contribution to Biblical Theology in his *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den Synoptischen Evangelien*.<sup>2</sup> He begins with a statement on the importance which belongs to our Lord's words on the Last Things in the present position of theology, and on the principles applicable to the scientific exposition of the import of these words. The two principles which he holds to be essential are these—that the measure by which we estimate any particular saying of our Lord on these subjects can be no other than His religious consciousness as a whole, and that a critical analysis of the eschatological discourses must precede any attempt to interpret them. The critical analysis is given in detail in the first section, and then follows a chapter on the formal rules for an estimate of Christ's eschatological sayings. The points of contact with the Apocalyptic literature of the Jews are carefully noticed, the conclusion reached being that they are no proof of literary dependence. The relation of our Lord's teaching to the religious tradition of the Jews is also examined and rightly shown to amount to a formal connection, accompanied by a change in the ideas in the way of deepening and spiritualising them. Account being further taken of the figurative character of our Lord's sayings, the question of the meaning of these discourses is next faced. The whole subject of Christ's doctrine of the Last Things is brought in a remarkably clear and telling way, under the two broad divisions of the *Completion of the Messianic Kingdom* and the *Completer* of that kingdom. The criticisms of the competing views of what Christ meant by the *Kingdom of God* are very acute. Of special interest are the sections in which Schnedermann, Schmoller, and J. Weiss are dealt with. We are entirely at one with what is so forcibly said there of the ineptitude of these laboured attempts to measure the teaching of our Lord by the standard of the popular Jewish ideas, and to prove that the "Kingdom of God" was to Him always an eschatological term. The question of His *Coming*, its meaning and its relation to the Judgment, is examined with much ability, and among other things the position is affirmed that this *Coming* is never combined with the Jewish catastrophe. The closing section sums up the results on the general question, dealing at the same time with the authenticity of Christ's words on the Last Things in the Synoptists, their relation to the fourth gospel and other kindred subjects. There are some things in which Dr

<sup>1</sup> London : Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 138. Price, 6s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin : Reuter u. Reichardt. 8vo, pp. viii. 167. Price, M. 3.60.

Haupt is perhaps over subtle. He is certainly never dull, and his fine exegetical faculty makes itself felt all through the book. Many passages are set in a new light, and the interpretation of Christ's eschatological teaching as a whole is advanced by the suggestive treatment which it receives in this volume.

## Record of Select Literature.

### I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

DALMAN, G. Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch. Nach den Idiomen des Palästina. Talmud u. Midrasch, des Onkelostargum (Cod. Socini 84) u. der Jerusalem. Targume zum Pentateuch. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. xii. 348. M. 12.

Biblia Hebraica ad optimas editiones imprimis E. van der Hooght accurate recensa et expressa. Curavit argumentique notationem et indices nec non clavem Masorethicam addidit C. G. Theile. Ed. viii. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 8vo, pp. xix. 1236. M. 7.

GUNKEL, H. Schöpfung u. Chaos in Urzeit u. Endzeit. Eine Religionsgeschichtl. Untersuchg. üb. Gen. 1 u. Ap. Joh. 12. Mit Beiträgen v. H. Zimmern. Gött.: Vandenhoeck & R. 8vo, pp. xiv. 431. M. 10.

The Sacred Books of the Old Testament. A critical edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours, with notes prepared by eminent Biblical scholars of Europe and America, under the editorial direction of P. Haupt. Parts 3 and 8. 4to. Inhalt: 3. The Book of Leviticus, by S. R. Driver, assisted by H. A. White. Pp. 32. 2s. 6d. Samuel, by K. Budde. Pp. 99. 6s. 6d.

NIEBUHR, C. Studien u. Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Alten Orients 1. Inhalt: Gideon u. Jerubbaal. Ein Buch Levi. Kaleb u. Juda in Richter 1. Tukulti-Aschur-Bil. Chanirabbat u. Mitani. Zur Lage v. Alaschja. Leipzig: Pfeiffer. 8vo, pp. 102. M. 14.

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GRAETZ, H. Emendationes in plerosque sacrae scripturae veteris testamenti libros secundum veterum versiones nec non auxiliis criticis caeteris adhibitis. Ex relicto defuncti auctoris manuscripto ed. G. Bacher. Fasc. III. Pentateuchi et priorum prophetarum libros continens. Bresl.: Schles. Buchdr. 8vo, pp. iii. 38. M. 7.50.

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- MOSES, Adolph. *The Religion of Moses.* Louisville, Ky.: Fleyner Bros. 8vo, pp. xi. 138. Doll. 1.
- BACHMANN, J. *Präparationen u. Commentare zu den gelesenen Büchern des Alten Testaments. Kleine Propheten.* 10 Heft: Nahum u. Habakuk. Analyse, Uebersetzg., Disposition. Berl.: Mayer & Müller. 8vo, pp. iii. 50. M. 0.90.
- ECKART, Th. *Alttestamentliche Betrachtungen. Zum Gebrauche in Kirche, Schule u. Haus.* 2 Thl. Eisleben: Christl. Verein. 8vo, pp. iv. 280. M. 1.80.
- DE GIRARD, R. *Le caractère naturel du Déluge. Étude de géologie biblique.* Fribourg: Librairie de l'Université. 8vo, pp. 288. F. 3.
- OR CHADASCH. 7 Hft. *Commentar zu Jesaias v. B. Goldenberg.* Wien: Lippe. 8vo, pp. 74. M. 1.50.
- HATCH, E., and REDPATH, H. A. *A Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the Old Testament. Part IV.* Clarendon Press. Folio. 21s.
- KENNEDY, Rev. J. *On the Book of Jonah: a Monograph. A Contribution to the Evidence of its Historic Truth.* London: Alexander & Shephard. Cr. 8vo, pp. 128. 3s.
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## Introduction to the Book of Isaiah.

*By the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1895. Pp. xxxix. and 449. Price 24s.*

THIS is in reality the work of more than half a life-time. For nearly thirty years Canon Cheyne has laboured to interpret the complex group of writings to which the name of Isaiah is prefixed. The first fruits of his industry was the pamphlet "Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew text of Isaiah," published in 1868, followed in 1870 by a small octavo volume, embracing the whole of the prophecies, entitled "The Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged," and containing spirited and idiomatic translations, accompanied by brief scholarly notes. Here the dominant influence was that of Göttingen, where the young Oxford scholar had studied under the teaching of the renowned Semitist and exegete Ewald. Both these writings obtained immediate recognition in Germany, and a laudatory mention of them is inserted by Diestel in the preface to his Commentary on Isaiah (1872). Cheyne was then known as the almost solitary English representative of a new spirit and tendency in Old Testament studies.

A decennium follows of earnest scholarly work in the field of Hebrew studies, despite the interruptions occasioned by the cares of an Essex parish. In 1880 there appeared a new commentary on Isaiah in two volumes, with full annotations and rendering. The critical results are here made less prominent, but the rich store of archæological material, which has always characterized Cheyne's work, is now greatly enlarged and becomes a fresh and welcome contribution to the interpretation of Isaiah. The charge is sometimes brought by conservative scholars against the more advanced Higher Critics that they are oblivious of, or depreciate the results of Assyriology. Of Wellhausen this was formerly true; but of Cheyne this could never have been said with any truth. His earliest and his latest work show that he has consistently taken pains to master all the best results of this important ancillary branch of study.

But we must turn to the article "Isaiah" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1881) in order to learn what were the critical results attained in 1870-1880. We there find a considerable modification of his critical estimate of Isa. xl.-lxvi. We are now referring to that last section of literature (lvi.-lxvi.) recently called by Duhm

"Trito-Isaiah." In 1881 Cheyne wrote:—"natural as the feeling against disintegration may be, the difficulties in the way of admitting the unity of chaps. xl.-lxvi. are insurmountable." It would not be out of place to register in brief his opinions at that date respecting the concluding chapters of the great Isaiah collection. Lvi. 1-8 he considers post-exilian (age of Nehemiah), also lviii., which resembles it in hortatory tone. Stress is laid on fasting; comp. Zech vii. 3; viii. 19; Joel ii. 12, 13. Moreover, he seemed disposed to regard lix. as post-exilian owing to its affinity with Proverbs, a favourite subject of study during the Exile. Lxiii. 1-6, with its eschatological and apocalyptic tone, Cheyne is strongly disposed to make post-exilian owing to its parallels with Joel and Malachi. Lxiii. 7—lxiv., with its thanksgiving, penitence, and supplication, is compared with Lamentations, but no opinion is given as to its date. On the other hand, lxv. and lxvi. proceed from one author, and have points of contact with Joel iii. 12-16. Accordingly it is placed by Cheyne "well on in the Persian period." On the other hand, lvi. 9—lvii. he is disposed (with Ewald and Bleek) to assign to a time of persecution in the reign of Manasseh. Such were the main critical results attained by Cheyne fourteen years ago on the last eleven chapters of Isaiah. It is obvious that he had even then advanced a considerable way towards the conclusions indicated in the volume before us. In 1891 two articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (July and October) show that the author had then attained to a definite position on problems which had in 1881 remained untouched, or had only received partial solution. Thus on lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12 (11) the author, after a careful survey (Oct. 1891, p. 104, foll.), arrives at the conclusion that this section of "liturgical poetry," furnishing numerous parallels with post-exilian Psalms, must be referred "to the last century of Persian rule, to the period when the doleful book of Ecclesiastes was written . . . which witnessed the cruel treatment of the Jews by Artaxerxes Ochus."

In order to do justice to our author we have thought it right to lay particular stress upon the preliminary stages of his work ("Vorarbeiten") which have prepared the way for the monument of massive erudition exhibited in these pages. No one can accuse him of undue haste in the formation of his judgments. And on this subject of the Trito-Isaiah the results have been matured through constant study not only of Isaianic literature, but also of the entire field of Old Testament writings (particularly *Prophetæ posteriores*, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations). Throughout all his work there has been evidence of patient investigation of the minutiae of language and of literary parallels. The results attained are rarely simple, for, as Prof. Cheyne has observed

with profound insight and truth, "Complication and not simplicity is the note of the questions and of the answers which constitute Old Testament criticism" (Proph. of Isaiah, ii., p. 228).

It is instructive in the light of this dictum to turn to Duhm's results on the same department (Trito-Isaiah) in his recent brilliant commentary. This ingenious writer appears to move more rapidly to his conclusions than his English contemporary. Amid the disparities of form and substance he sees but one author and historic standpoint in chapters lvi.—lxvi. With felicitous powers of generalization he sums up the post-exilic situation (preceding the rebuilding of the temple and the constitution of Ezra) with its internal disorganization, its heretic enemies, and the false brethren of the Jerusalemite community. Far different, and to the ordinary reader less attractive, is the exposition contained in Cheyne's "Introduction" (pp. xxxi. foll., p. 310 foll.), owing to its insistence on the complex features. The internal diversities of thought are now presented in stronger lights and shadows, while the specialities of style are duly enforced. But is it not most useful—indeed necessary—to have in our hands the results of the patient inductive method of the English scholar to place by the side of the rapid luminous generalizations of his brilliant German contemporary. In one respect, indeed, the Oxford scholar shows a decisive superiority. No one has been more vehemently attacked; no one has shown a more kindly courtesy to opponents. It would be impossible in all Cheyne's writings to find any approach to such bitterness in literary polemic as sometimes afflicts the reader of Duhm's pages.<sup>1</sup>

It is in the region of the Proto-Isaiah that I find it most difficult to follow Canon Cheyne. And the criticism which I passed three years ago on his Bampton Lectures I am constrained to repeat upon his Introduction to Isaiah, viz.: that he *underrates the intellectual and spiritual possibilities of the great prophetic leaders of pre-exilic Israel*. The result of this tendency is an excessive restriction of the range of vision open to a remarkable creative personality like that of Isaiah. Surely it is time for us to consider well whether comparative tables of linguistic usage, founded on relatively small areas of literature, and those constantly redacted, may not conduct us to illusory results, unless the cumulative effect

<sup>1</sup> Read for example the scolding he gives to the great exegete Dillmann (p. 26 on Isaiah iii. 10, 11). And yet surely Duhm, with all his brilliance of suggestion, exposes himself to some severe retorts when he deliberately coins Hebrew words for Isaiah's use, when it is obvious that the invention (Hifil of קִיָּר in Isa. viii. 13) is merely a textual "Nothbehelf" of the German critic. It deserves a stronger epithet than "a needlessly hard riddle" (Introduction, p. 41).

of the evidence be overwhelming (like the masterly array of facts presented on pp. 247—271). But when we have to examine brief sections, the utmost caution is needed lest the use of one or two words or phrases, which find an echo in late literature, should betray us into imposing restraints on the possibilities of genius, which, if consistently enforced, would reduce the history of human thought to a mechanical and uniform gradient. But the history of mankind, as we all know, has its Alpine peaks of personality to break the monotony of normal evolutionary progress. To a mind such as Isaiah possessed, succeeding to the great spiritual inheritance left to him by Amos, we may well attribute such universalism and imaginative forecasts as find expression in Isa. ii. 2-4; xix. 19-22; nor should the Messianic ideals portrayed in ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-9 occasion serious misgiving. These considerations would at least save us from such textual peddling as endeavours to manipulate the evidence by altering גֵּלָה into כָּלָה (Duhm on Isa. v. 13) as though Isaiah remained tied to one idea all his life, and that with Ephraim's doom straight before his eyes!

I find that this tendency to depreciate the intellectual and spiritual possessions of præ-exilian prophets increases with every successive work that comes from Canon Cheyne's pen. Thus the literary gem (Isa. ii. 2-4) which belongs to the collection of Micah's and of Isaiah's oracles in common, which in 1889 the author recognised as an "old prophecy" and is still regarded as such by Duhm, is now made post-exilian (a result previously announced in the *Jewish Chronicle*, July 1892).

Has the mind of the writer been unconsciously influenced by the exigencies of his theory of the Psalter as a literary product lying entirely outside the region of Israel's præ-exilian history (unless we except Ps. xviii.)? Whatever be the reason, he, like Cornill (*Einleitung* p. 139, comp. Z.A.T.W. 1884 p. 88) appears to have been converted by the arguments of Stade (*Z.A.T.W. ibid.* p. 292). It must be acknowledged that Cheyne's later position has the merit of logical consistency, for such passages as Isa. ii. 2-4; iv. 2-6<sup>1</sup> form inconvenient *fulera* whereby the cogency of arguments for the late origin of Pss. xlvi., xlviii., and l. may be successfully overturned. In the volume before us the process of elimination has been carried still further, and the great Messianic passages ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-8 are surrendered, though with reluctance, accompanied by the confession that the weight of evidence is not very great (see pp. 44 foll. and also xxiv).

Let us consider ix. 1-6 first. Here neither language nor contents appear to me to lend any strong support to Hackmann's view,

<sup>1</sup> I admit that there is some force in the arguments against iv. 5, 6.

especially when we take into account the speciality of subject with which this lyrical passage deals. One of Prof. Cheyne's arguments for surrendering the Isaianic authorship is that neither Jeremiah, II. Isaiah, nor Zechariah refer to these great passages. Surely such a plea has no cogency. For (1) Care must be exercised in the use of an *argumentum ex silentio*, unless we are prepared for some very strange results; (2) II. Isaiah and Zechariah belonged to an age which had almost ceased to find its consolation in the idea of a Messianic king; (3) Cheyne has already stated that "x. 26 and xiv. 5 contain allusions to ix. 3, and xxxvii. 32 (end) is copied from ix. 6 end." In other words, later writers regarded ix. 1-6 as Isaiah's. Surely the following sentence (top of page 45), in its attempt to minimize the force of the author's own concession, contains some weak special pleading. For, according to Cheyne himself, xiv. 5 belongs to the close of the exile (a very probable date), while the non-Isaianic origin of x. 26 is by no means proved. For the coincidence with the P passages in Exod. xiv. is too slight to be significant, while another parallel, Judg. vii. 24, 25, belongs, according to Budde's analysis, to the older sections of the Gideon-narratives (Richter und Samuel pp. 112 foll. 124). When we turn to xi. 1-9 we find that the discussion (pp. 62-66) leads to very unsatisfactory results. There is certainly no lack of thoroughness in dealing with Hackmann's arguments. But what is the total impression left on the reader's mind after a perusal of Cheyne's carefully balanced analysis of both the formal and material side of Hackmann's evidence? Surely (1) that the linguistic phenomena present no decisively preponderating evidence for a late origin; (2) that "there seems to be some exaggeration" in Hackmann's treatment of the contents. Yet we are finally assured of this "seriously important result," that the question must be decided against the authorship of Isaiah both in ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-9.

Respecting xix. 18-25, I still find myself unable to agree with the author's later opinions. His views expressed in 1881 (Encycl. Britt.) appear to me sounder. It is quite possible that verse 18 may have been inserted in the interests of Onias, who founded the rival temple to Jehovah at Leontopolis. At the present time Cheyne regards the entire chapter 1-15 and 16-25 as non-Isaianic. On the linguistic side of the problem it is not easy to argue with a writer who contends that "Isaianic phrases are easily accounted for by imitation." On the general arguments for Isaianic authorship it is sufficient to refer to Kuenen's careful and well-balanced discussion (German edition, pp. 66 foll.) and to Dillmann's commentary. Both these critics rightly lay stress on the *massebah* in Egypt (verse 19) as strong evidence for a pre-Deuteronomic origin. There is no cogency in the citation of Mal. i. 11. (p. 101) where the

reference is to *pagan* cults, which no Jew could regard as forming a legitimate precedent for his own ritual practice (comp. Deut. iv. 19 and Kuenen, Hibbert Lectures, p. 181).

Chap. iii. 2, 3 is rejected as non-Isaianic, "because such long catalogues are not in Isaiah's manner." It may be observed that the author follows Duhm in rejecting the enumeration of the paraphernalia of feminine attire in verses 18-23. But we doubt whether this summary process is justifiable in verses 2, 3. Surely ii. 12-16, which is accepted as Isaianic, is a detailed enumeration which is fairly elaborate in character (comp. v. 27, 28; i. 11, 13). It is not easy to see why the redactional heading in i. 1 should refer to chaps. i.-xxxix. rather than to the entire book of Isaiah. The view of Duhm appears to me to be preferable, which assigns it to the collector of the oracles in i.-xii., to which the phrase "about Judah and Jerusalem" more especially applies. I see that Canon Cheyne seems disposed (pp. 4 and 17) to accept Winckler's identification of יִאֲרִי in North Syria (mentioned in the Sendjirli inscription) with the *Jandru* of the Nimrod insc. (Altoriental. Forsch. 1893, first essay), and to regard Azriau of Tiglath-Pileser's mutilated record as an Aramæan prince and not Uziah of Judah. It should, however, be remembered that the results of Winckler's ingenious essay have not yet obtained general approval from Assyriological experts. Dr Schrader, at all events, remains unconvinced. In conclusion, I would express my satisfaction at Canon Cheyne's rejection of Staerk's theory of the late origin of the phrase אֶחָרִית הַיָּמִים (pp. 11, 12, footnote). Also one final word of commendation as to the plan of this truly great and monumental work. In a prologue of a little more than twenty pages we obtain a lucid conspectus of the entire results. Then follow 385 pages heavily weighted with the minute details of criticism on each succeeding group of chapters. At the end of the work we have a very useful translation of all the oracles, short interpolations and redactional additions being omitted as a general rule.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

### Comte, Mill, and Spencer : An Outline of Philosophy.

By John Watson, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Queen's College, Kingston, Canada; Author of "Kant and his English Critics." Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons. 8vo, pp. vii. 302. Price, 6s. net.

THE first edition of "Kant and his English Critics" appeared in 1881. Readers of that acute and able book looked to Professor

Watson for more work of the same kind. They expected that he would give them some adequate account of the more recent development of Philosophy, or better still, that he would make some contribution of his own. For there could be no question of his ability. He could do some worthy work, if he would. The years passed, and Professor Watson kept silence, or the silence was broken only by the publication of his Selections from Kant, "The Philosophy of Kant, as contained in extracts from his own writings," a valuable book, but not the kind of work we had a right to expect from Professor Watson.

We gladly welcome, then, the present volume as an instalment. We expect something more in the near future. Meanwhile, we look at the gift we now receive, and we prize it as most valuable in itself, and relevant to the questions of the hour. Comte, Mill, and Spencer are three typical names, representative of different phases of a great movement in the world of contemporary thought. They hold in common a doctrine of the Relativity of Knowledge which in the long run seems to make all knowledge impossible, and they differ in their views as to psychology, as to the test of truth, and as to the elements which go to constitute knowledge and experience. Comte would limit us to ascertaining and recording the laws of phenomena, and would shut us out from all search after causes, and would place psychology in his Index Expurgatorius. Mill believes in psychology of a kind. Mill may be taken as the representative of the English empirical school, which follows in the footsteps of Locke, has a hatred of "innate ideas" and *à priori* truths, and reduces psychological questions to a process of natural history, or to a process which has taken place in the experience of the individual. In the philosophy of Spencer there are wider elements, and a recognition of truths and processes regarded as illegitimate by the other two. He recognises a Power within and beyond phenomena; he recognises that there are *à priori* truths for the individual, though these are still *à posteriori* to the race. The weakness of his system lies largely in what he has in common with Comte and Mill; but we shall follow Professor Watson in his criticism of these three typical thinkers.

Professor Watson begins with "The Problem of Philosophy." Having stated and explained the Aristotelian and Platonic definitions of Philosophy, he sets forth his own view of Philosophy and of its relation to the Sciences. The relation of Philosophy to Mathematics is the main subject of the first chapter, and Professor Watson has occasion to speak of Mill and Hume, and proves that Philosophy has to examine the principles assumed by such sciences as physics and chemistry. Then Philosophy is provisionally divided into (1) Philosophy of Nature, (2) Philosophy of Mind, (3) Philosophy of God.

The second chapter deals with the philosophy of Comte. The "subjective" and "objective" synthesis of Comte is thus explained: "Man must be content to gain such a limited knowledge of the world and of human life as will enable him to make use of nature for the perfecting of society." Readers of Kaftan will remember the striking resemblance between his view and that of Comte. Professor Watson notes the intellectual development and historical position of Comte, states his view of the three stages, and passes to the discussion of the main question of the Relativity of Knowledge as set forth by Comte. In brief and masterly fashion he criticises the theory, and manifests himself to be one of the keenest and most competent of philosophical critics.

The third and fourth chapters deal with the philosophy of Nature: the third deals mainly with Mill's view of Geometry, and the fourth with his view of Algebra. We quote from Professor Watson:—"It is not claimed that we have all knowledge, but only that what we know expresses the true nature of things. The progress of knowledge always has two sides: on the one hand it is an advance to a fuller apprehension of the particular aspects of existence, and, on the other hand, it is an advance to a better comprehension of the laws or relations of existence. We cannot have one without the other. The very idea of the progress of knowledge implies that as we advance we carry with us what we have already acquired. The course of science is not by discontinuous leaps; it is an evolution in which a principle already grasped is seen to involve a higher principle. But the higher principle does not destroy but only reinterprets the lower. Thus the principles of Mathematics are not abolished by physics or chemistry, but are accepted and shown to involve more concrete principles. Biology does not destroy physics and chemistry, but only shows that they involve wider principles." P. 42.

Having dealt with Geometry and Algebra as aspects of the philosophy of Nature, Professor Watson in the fifth and sixth chapters deals with the physical sciences and biology as further aspects of the philosophy of Nature. In these chapters, into which we cannot enter fully, there is much that deserves serious study. The four chapters form a great contribution towards a philosophy of Nature, and a solution of the three great problems of Nature. The chapter on Biological science contains many wise reflections and apt criticisms of the Darwinian hypothesis. In the following chapter—the Relations of Biology and Philosophy—we have one of the greatest contributions we know to the criticism of Darwinism. There are only twenty-two pages of it, but it contains more relevant remarks than we have found anywhere else.

The philosophy of Mind has only one chapter given to it, and deals

mainly with Mr Spencer. We shall give the following and no more. "The following propositions are maintained by Mr Spencer: (1st) We are conscious of an absolute distinction between subject and object, mind and matter. (2nd) The object is conceivable only as a complex of feelings or mental states; the subject only as a complex of movements. (3rd) The ultimate constituents of the subject as known are simple feelings, the ultimate constituents of the object as known are simple movements. (4th) There is an exact correspondence, but no connection, between the feelings of the subject and the movements of the object. (5th) In their real nature subject and object are identical, though we are unable to comprehend that identity. 'All which propositions,' to apply the famous views of Carlyle, 'I must modestly but peremptorily and irrevocably deny.' The ground on which I base that denial may be best understood by an examination of the first of these propositions, on which all the others depend." Pp. 159-60.

How Professor Watson deals with these propositions we have not space to say. But whoever delights in lucid thought and clear expression, in urgent argument and drastic criticism, and in profound reasoning clearly and adequately set forth, ought to read this chapter.

Even more important are the chapters on Moral Philosophy. The three chapters deal with the idea of Duty, the idea of Freedom, the idea of Rights, and both the methods and the results are of that kind which we now expect from men trained in Glasgow, and who have passed under the influence of Hegel. We do not say this in reproach, for we do not know in Ethics a higher or a truer influence. We are glad to think that there are many who have made themselves familiar with that method, and who look at Ethical problems from that point of view, for we in this country greatly needed something of the kind. Ethical speculation with us had so long ploughed the sand, and bore no fruit. We trust that many will study these chapters, and learn from a master something worth while.

We are somewhat disappointed with the concluding chapter, entitled "Philosophy of the Absolute." The discussion is too brief, and it falls below the level of the rest of the book. It is quite inadequate. It may be that Professor Watson had not space to give us an adequate treatment of the great subject of Religion and Art. If so, we trust he will speedily remedy that defect. Why should he not give us another book, and treat religion on the same scale as Nature and Morality have been treated by him? No one could deal adequately with the philosophy of Religion in fifteen pages. Yet even in this brief treatment there is something worthy. "The essence of the religious consciousness is the assurance that in

realising the higher life man is a fellow-worker with God, and that in so realising himself all things work together for good. If man cannot identify himself with God all his strivings are vain efforts to escape from his own limited individuality. If he cannot know God he can know nothing, because all his apparent knowledge must be infected with the illusion of his finitude; if he cannot identify his will with the will of God his goodness is from the absolute point of view a mere semblance. Hence the consciousness of the moral law cannot be separated from the consciousness of God without losing its power and authority. What gives absoluteness both to the individual consciousness and to the laws of society is the identity of both with the infinite perfection of God. It is true that neither involves a complete consciousness of all that is implicit in that perfection; but except in so far as man is conscious that in himself and others the divine is continually being realised, he has no ground for his faith in goodness. Ultimately, therefore, morality rests on religion."

JAMES IVERACH.

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### **John Stuart Mill: A Study of his Philosophy.**

*By Charles Douglas, M.A., D.Sc., Lecturer in Moral Philosophy, and Assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 274. Price 4s. 6d.*

IT is within the mark to say that the writer on philosophy who exerted the largest influence on contemporary thought was John Stuart Mill. Himself without a formal academic training, his writings became text-books in all our universities. In Logic, in Ethics, in Psychology, in Political Economy, and in other related subjects, he worked with zeal and energy, and to all of them he made contributions of lasting value. The time has come when a calm and reasoned estimate of the man, of his place in the history of English thought, and of the worth of his work, may well be made. It is no easy task. Even to read the writings of Mill is no slight undertaking. For his works are numerous and varied, and the study of them demands sustained attention. To estimate his place and work rightly requires a knowledge of the trend of philosophical study in England, at least from the time of Locke, of the problem of philosophy as it was set to Mill by his predecessors, and by his training, and a critical power which can disengage the elements which he received from his predecessors from those he himself added to the system which constitutes his contribution to philosophy.

Dr Douglas is a competent and sympathetic critic, as well as a patient and careful expositor. He seems to have studied all that Mill has written, to have compared one writing with another with a view to find the central thought of Mill, or to find whether there is a central thought, or whether Mill had not changed his view and had not brought elements into his system which were inconsistent with the presuppositions from which he started. In short, this book may be described as "an attempt to discover the distinctive ways of thinking to which his philosophy owes its special interest." Mill starts with what may be called the common inheritance of British thinkers—a tendency to think of things as isolated from one another, and to treat the relations in which we think them as fictions, which do not belong to them as they really are. The tendency to see in the relation of cause and effect only a succession of subjective states, and to make knowledge only a series of mental changes, led him inevitably to a fictitious isolation of the subject from the object of knowledge, which has important consequences in every department of his philosophic work. This, however, is not the whole of his philosophy. Perhaps the most interesting and important part of Dr Douglas' book is that part in which he traces the appearance of elements in Mill's philosophy which belong to himself. These elements are in his system, and they form a source of perplexity to the critic and expositor of Mill. For Mill never seemed to have revised the fundamental assumptions he had taken over from his predecessors, even when he had supplemented them by other views which were really inconsistent with them.

The first chapter of the book deals with what Dr Douglas calls "isolation." In it we have a lucid description of Mill's theory of knowledge. The derivation of his individualistic theory of knowledge is traced back to Locke, Berkeley, and Hume; its significance in the development of English philosophy is shown; its influence on Mill is depicted; and its effect on his view of man's relation to the world and on his conception of logic is briefly yet vividly set forth. Then we pass to Mill's theory of experience. Mill is not consistently individualistic. His theories of definition and inference are influenced by his limitation of knowledge to states of consciousness, but he seems to forget this limitation when he sets forth logic as the science of evidence and truth, and consequently departs from the view which limits logic to the science dealing with mere mental states, and makes it a science of reality. If logic is a science that can deal with reality, clearly there must be some way of passing from mere mental states to the reality of an objective world. The difficulty is, how on Mill's system are we to reach objective reality? How are we to think of causality? Are we to think of it, with Hume, as the result of custom, as merely subjective, or are we

to think of it as objectively real, as working real changes in a real world, changes which may be known by us as real? Mill seems to hold both views. Indeed, this seems to be the view held in common by all the disciples of Hume. It is interesting to find Professor Huxley, for example, at one moment insisting on universality and reality of causation as the one article of the creed of a scientific man, and at the next moment insisting with equal vehemence on Hume's maxim that belief in causation is the outcome of mere habit. Now they cannot have it both ways. If the reality of causation is to be vindicated, some way of transcending Hume must be found.

Dr Douglas, with characteristic generosity, seeks to reduce the inconsistency of Mill to a minimum, but not with much success. After all his endeavour, the two fundamental assumptions of Mill lie side by side, not only unreconciled, but also, seemingly, without a thought on the part of Mill that a reconciliation was required. True, the most valuable part of Mill's contribution to human knowledge consists in those elements which he did not receive from his predecessors. But his contribution would have been more valuable had he set himself to revise his fundamental assumptions, and had he made them consistent with themselves, and with the results to which he had come in the course of his investigations.

We should like to dwell on the successive chapters of the volume. It would be of interest to dwell on the exposition and criticism of Mill's Hedonism, on his relation to Positivism, on his doctrine of Determinism, and of Freedom, on his Ethical Hedonism, on his view of the Worth of Conduct, and finally on the account given here of Mill's view of Nature and Spirit. But we have nearly reached our limits. We must call attention to the chapter on "The Worth of Conduct." It is an important bit of work. Dr Douglas gathers into one all that Mill has written on Conduct, sets forth Mill's view with precision, indicates its merits and defects, and shows how great is the advance made by Mill on the work of previous thinkers of the same school. We may quote the passage descriptive of the qualification of Hedonism made by Mill: "In regarding the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' as the end which should determine conduct he makes the moral good of the individual agent consist not in the enjoyment but in the production of pleasure; and, however much he may be disposed to believe in the actual coincidence of private and general happiness, he does not hesitate, in case of conflict, to make the common good the criterion of conduct. This, however, is to make the moral good of the individual consist, not in a state of feeling, but in a kind of activity or personal character. Similarly, the distinction among pleasures depends upon their relation to the

objective life of character ; and by this distinction, and by the non-hedonistic preference of higher to lower pleasures, the good, whether of single individuals or of the greatest number, is made to consist not in pleasure or satisfaction but in qualities of personal life. This conception of the moral end derives no support from the doctrine that only pleasure is desired ; it may rather be said to be inconsistent with that doctrine, and to depend for its legitimacy upon a less abstract notion of desire. The far-reaching qualification of hedonism, which is conveyed in making the moral end for individuals a common good, and in establishing qualitative differences among pleasures, is fatal also to that logical use of the hedonistic principle, as a moral calculus, which largely determined Mill's belief in its scientific value. If moral good depends upon character, and if their relation to character determines the worth of pleasures themselves, then the detail of the moral life cannot be regulated by mere calculation of pleasant feelings in the abstract."

JAMES IVERACH.

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### **Leib und Seele bei Fechner und Lotze.**

*Von Dr Theodor Simon. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Svo, pp. 118. Price, M.2.40.*

THIS book is a clear and able treatment of the relation of body and soul, as that relation has been set forth by Fechner and Lotze. We have first a statement of the question in the introductory part, then an exposition of the solution of the problem as set forth by Lotze and by Fechner. The exposition is remarkably full and clear, and it is a great gain to have so good an account of the systems of these thinkers in so short a space. Dr Simon then points out what elements they have in common. Both believe in the unity of the Ground of the world, both are believers in God, and both believe that the "Real is the Spiritual." Dr Simon gives us an account of the differences between them. (1) From the point of view of Anatomy and Physiology, (a) as regards the seat of the soul, (b) as regards the union of the activities of the soul with the body. (2) From the point of view of Metaphysics. He shows us how Fechner and Lotze conceive (1) of the Unity of the soul over against the manifoldness of space, (2) of the Unity of the soul in the interchange of time. It is a most clear and interesting discussion, based in a thorough knowledge of the numerous writings of these distinguished men? We have, finally, a chapter which shows that Dr Simon can not

only clearly summarize the methods and results of other thinkers, but he can maintain his independence, think for himself, criticise, and work his way to a clear apprehension of the problems and their solution. There is a vast amount of thought and learning in this little book.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **The Messiah of the Gospels.**

*By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xv. 337. Price 6s. 6d.*

THIS work is the second of a series of three volumes on the Messianic Ideal, projected by the author, of which the first, on *Messianic Prophecy*, appeared in 1886. While having for its main theme the Messiah of the Gospels, it sketches in an introductory chapter the Messianic idea in pre-Christian Judaism, which is gathered chiefly from three sources: the Book of Enoch, the Psalter of Solomon, and the Hellenistic Book of Wisdom. Before coming to his main topic, the author deals in a second chapter with what he calls the Messianic idea of the *Forerunners of Jesus*, including under that head not only John the Baptist, but the persons brought on the scene in the two first chapters of *Luke*: Zacharias, Elizabeth, Mary, Simeon, and apparently even the angels spoken of in the story; for their messages of annunciation are given along with the songs of Zacharias, Mary and Simeon as part of the relative material. It is noticeable that the *Annunciations*, as well as the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, are all alike regarded as poems. With reference to all Dr Briggs remarks: "These songs, which have been selected for use in the Gospel of Luke, doubtless represent reflection upon these events by Christian poets who put in the mouths of the angels the mothers and the fathers, the poems which they composed." The remark may seem to imperil the historicity of the story, but the writer adds: "The inspired author of the Gospel vouches for their propriety and for their essential conformity to truth and fact." In each case the gist of the song is given, then a kind of poetic version, then a comment. This method—gist, text, comment—is followed throughout the book. Dr Briggs finds in the songs of the Forerunners a Christology earlier and less developed than those of the Gospel of John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Epistle to the Colossians; not going beyond the Paulinism of the Epistles to the Corinthians, and implying nothing more than the sending or birth taught by the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans.

The Messianic conceptions of the Gospels are ascertained by a separate study of each gospel, after which the total idea thus gathered is compared with Old Testament predictions in order to ascertain how far they correspond. Mark, as the simplest and earliest, is taken up first. All the passages bearing on the subject are carefully gone over, quoted and commented on—some of the most important of the comments taking the form of footnotes. Among the latter is a lengthy notice of the opinions of Jülicher and Spitta on the question whether Jesus can be said to have instituted the sacrament of the Supper as an ordinance to be observed continuously. The author seems inclined to relegate the "institution" proper to the post-resurrection period, and to suppose that "the risen Lord commanded the perpetual observance of the holy supper just as he gave the apostles their commission to preach and baptize." He follows up the discussion of the Messianic texts in Mark by a chapter on "the Apocalypse of Jesus," contained in Mark xiii. and parallels. This chapter contains copious references to the literature of this difficult subject, and endeavours to grapple with the knotty questions involved. How far successfully is a point on which opinion will differ. For myself I cannot say that the treatment is altogether convincing or satisfactory. Dr Briggs thinks it clear that in Mark xiii. 5-8, referring to false Messiahs, Jesus has chiefly in mind his *παρουσία* and not the destruction of the city and temple. This is by no means clear to me. The "Apocalypse" arose out of the conversation about the destruction of the temple, and it is most natural to suppose that the main subject of discourse was the approaching crisis of the Jewish people, not the "Second Coming" or the end of the world.

In a work on the Messianic element in the Gospels many points of doubtful interpretation inevitably come up, and it is no valid objection to a book that it contains exegetical views to which one feels inclined to demur. In any views of this sort expressed by Dr Briggs, he follows good authorities, such as Weiss, Wendt, or Beyschlag. One may be inclined to think that he follows authorities too much, and does not sufficiently exercise his own judgment. Be that as it may, there is one department in which Dr Briggs owns no master, but follows his own course. He seems disposed to find *poetry* everywhere, often where most have found only plain prose; e.g., in the directions given by the Lord Jesus to his disciples in connection with the *Galilean mission*. He even uses the hypothesis of poetic form as a canon in criticism. He remarks, e.g., on the words "save a staff only," Mark vi. 8: "This clause is doubtless original. Matthew x. 10 gives a reverse statement. In Luke v. 3 the staff is prohibited and begins the list of prohibited objects. The statement of Mark comes from the original Mark; those of

Matthew and Luke from the *Logia*, but in an incorrect form, *because the words of Mark give a true line of poetry* appropriate in this place—the words in Matthew and Luke *mar the line of poetry* to which they are attached.” I do not feel competent to appreciate the value of such criticism, of which various examples occur in the volume.

In the course of the work the author touches upon some important and burning theological questions, *e.g.*, *Baptismal Regeneration* and *the Middle State*. The former topic comes up in connection with John iii. 5. Dr Briggs distinguishes two kinds of regeneration—one by water, and one by the Spirit. “Regeneration by water admits to the external organisation of the visible kingdom. Regeneration by the spirit admits to the spiritual kingdom itself.” This double use of the term does not seem conducive to clear thinking on the subject. “Regeneration by water” is for my mind merely a combination of words without any corresponding thought. In these days it is desirable to avoid vague phrases in connection with sacramentarian controversies, and to take up a position that is unmistakeable and does not wear the aspect of being on both sides of a vital question. Dr Briggs, I am sure, has no intention of “straddling the fence,” but a certain mystic element is traceable in his sacramental references, with which, with all due respect, I cannot personally sympathise.

In summing up the Messianic doctrine of the Gospels as compared with Old Testament prophecy, Dr Briggs finds that of the eleven Messianic ideals in the prophetic writings, only a single one of them, the suffering prophet, was entirely fulfilled by the earthly life of Jesus. Of the remaining ten some were fulfilled only in part, others not at all; the full realisation in both cases being postponed to the exaltation state. “The vast majority of the predictions of the Old Testament prophets and the great mass of their ideals were taken up by Jesus into his predictive prophecy and projected into the future.” On this account it is held to be the reverse of surprising that the Jews of our Lord’s day were so slow to accept him as the Messiah.

With whatever disputable matter it may be weighted, this volume is a scholarly, painstaking, and instructive study of an interesting and vitally important subject.

Nothing has interested me more in the work than its dedication to one who has been the victim of recent ecclesiastical proceedings in connection with the modern critical movement, Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., “true scholar, faithful friend, and brave companion in holy warfare.”

A. B. BRUCE.

## The Book of Ezekiel.

*By the Rev. John Skinner, M.A. The Expositor's Bible. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. 499. Price 7s. 6d.*

STUDENTS of the Bible are under a deep obligation to Professor Skinner for his exposition of Ezekiel. The value and comfort of his guidance will be most fully appreciated by those who have themselves tried to explore the depths of this master of visions. In spite of the difficulties of the subject, a lucid style and clear consecutive thinking make the book eminently readable. In Professor Skinner's hands even the obscure and complicated descriptions of the Chariot (i.) and the Temple (xl.-xlii.) attain something like simplicity and vividness, and yield a reasonable and edifying symbolism. For instance, three conspicuous ruling principles in the design of the Temple, "separation, gradation, and symmetry . . . symbolise three aspects of the one great idea of holiness" (p. 413). One could have wished that the careful description of the ground plan of the Temple had been illustrated by a diagram; it is hollow mockery to bid the English reader "see the plan in Benzinger, *Archäologie*."

Professor Skinner says in his preface "the book has no pretensions to rank as a contribution to Old Testament scholarship." Nevertheless, this disclaimer will prepare the judicious reader for the discovery that this volume is pre-eminent in the Expositor's Bible for its careful and thorough scholarship. The familiar and wide acquaintance with the best work on the Old Testament, which has led Professor Skinner to form a high ideal of scholarship, enables him to contribute without making pretensions. His constant and unfailing mastery of the subject in all its bearings and relations enables our author to move with a quiet ease, which may possibly tempt his readers to overlook the difficulties that have been grappled with and overcome. We do not forget the obligations to Dr Davidson, which are freely and emphatically acknowledged—one could wish that the treasures embalmed in the Cambridge Bible Ezekiel could be further utilised by Dr Davidson for a commentary on the Hebrew text—but the task set Professor Skinner made peculiar claims upon his resources, and these have been fully met. One striking feature of his exposition is its remarkable fidelity to the standpoint of Ezekiel and his age, and the success with which he avoids the tendency to interpret the Old Testament according to the presuppositions of modern dogmatics. Such fidelity is the more valuable, because—according to a remark which Professor Skinner quotes and endorses—"Ezekiel is the

first dogmatic theologian." Naturally, therefore, an exposition of Ezekiel deals largely and formally with Old Testament theology.

Partly following Dr Davidson, our author does much to elucidate the doctrine of prophecy. In this connection we may note with satisfaction that Professor Skinner rejects Klostermann's attempt to explain the prophet's liability to ecstatic visions by the hypothesis that for seven years Ezekiel laboured under serious nervous disorders. This theory seems to have been adopted from apologetic motives, but as Professor Skinner says, "In the hands of Klostermann and Orelli the hypothesis assumes a stupendous miracle; but it is obvious that a critic of another school might readily 'wear his rue with a difference,' and treat the whole of Ezekiel's prophetic experiences as hallucinations of a deranged intellect."

Professor Skinner lays stress on Ezekiel's "serious and profound sense of pastoral responsibility," and the truth which is its modern counterpart, "that the salvation of men and women is the supreme end which the minister of Christ is to set before him, and that to which all other instruction is subordinated." We would also call special attention to the exposition (pp. 333-341, 361, 362) of xxxvi. 16-38, in which, following Dr Davidson, Professor Skinner shows that, according to Ezekiel, repentance is the consequence, and not the antecedent condition of forgiveness. Repentance is not the result of punishment, but with Ezekiel, as with St Paul (Rom. ii. 4), "the effect of the goodness of God will be to lead them to repentance."

It is scarcely necessary to say that in critical matters Professor Skinner moves along modern lines; he has some very compact and suggestive paragraphs on the relation of the Book of Ezekiel to Pentateuchal criticism, showing how disastrous traditional views on Leviticus would be to the value and authority of Ezekiel. But this volume is itself thoroughly constructive, and the reader cannot fail to be struck with the great positive gain for evangelical truth, which is obtained by a fearless and candid application of the principles of modern scholarship to the interpretation of the Old Testament. We may quote, in conclusion, some sentences worthy of careful pondering in these days when the Social Gospel is so vigorously preached. In reference to Ezekiel's river which flows from the temple to reclaim the Judean desert and purify the Dead Sea, Professor Skinner writes: "Nowadays we are sometimes reminded that the Dead Sea must be drained before the gospel can have a fair chance of influencing human lives, and there may be much wisdom in the suggestion. . . . But the true spirit of Christianity can neither be confined to the watercourses of religious habit, nor wait for the schemes of the social reformer. . . . Ezekiel . . . believed in the possibility of reclaiming the waste places of his

country for the Kingdom of God. When Christians are united in like faith in the power of Christ and the abiding presence of His Spirit, we may expect to see times of refreshing from the presence of God, and the whole earth filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

W. H. BENNETT.

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## Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte.

*Von Johannes Jüngst. Gotha: Perthes. 8vo, pp. 226. Price, M.4.*

IN recent years the attention of New Testament critics has been somewhat withdrawn from the Synoptic problem and concentrated on the Book of Acts and the Apocalypse. These books afford an inviting field for that kind of analysis and partition among various sources, which has been so vigorously exercised upon the Hexateuch. It is a legitimate exercise of criticism, having for its aim the attainment of more accurate knowledge of the composition of our New Testament books. And even when it fails to reach conclusions which commend themselves as quite incontestable, it sheds so much light upon peculiarities of language and upon the relation of the various parts of the book under consideration, and it so thoroughly awakens attention and demands feasible solution of difficulties which previously have been rather evaded than solved, that every effort in this department of criticism must be welcome. It is also a process which calls for so much scholarship, patience, acuteness, and judgment that, when seriously undertaken, it should receive recognition. And it may at once be said that Herr Jüngst, although not infallible, possesses the qualities which inspire confidence in a critic, and that no one can follow him through his analysis without receiving an excellent lesson in criticism, and without gaining much valuable insight into the Book of Acts.

Herr Jüngst divides his work into three parts. The first of these occupies thirteen pages, and presents a brief sketch of the search for the sources of *Acts* up to the present time. The second part forms the body of the volume, and consists of a careful analysis of each section of the book with a view to the discovery of repetitions, ill-fitted connections, unusual expressions, contradictions, and, in short, any marks which betray that the writer has used more than one source of information. The third part occupies thirty pages, and presents the results of the investigation, describing with some fulness the characteristics of the sources which have been discovered, and concluding with a table, by the help of which it can be seen

at a glance to what hand each verse of the book is due. The whole is written with conciseness and lucidity, and in a serious and dispassionate spirit.

Some of the foremost of recent critics despair of ascertaining with any completeness the sources of the narrative of Acts. Although persuaded that the writer has made use of written sources, they think he has so freely adapted his material to the requirements of his book, that it is now impossible thoroughly to sift source from source, or source from redaction. Weizsäcker, *e.g.*, says (E. Tr. i. p. 14): "If he used a source, it cannot be indicated in his text. The narrative is too much of a piece, and too smooth for that." This position, at anyrate so far as regards the earlier parts of the book, is held by Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, and Beyschlag. On the other hand there have always been, since Schleiermacher's time, critics who not only believed in the possibility of dissecting the narrative into its original component parts, but have actually attempted the dissection. Some of these attempts have, indeed, been merely conjectures or suggestions, not based upon any close examination of the text. Thus Schleiermacher suggested that the book was made up of scraps of local tradition—an idea which, as Jüngst points out, takes no account of the unity of style in various parts of the book, nor of the relation of the speeches to one another. Biographies of Peter, Paul, and Barnabas have been supposed, and a number of other documents. When greater attention began to be paid to the language there was, except in Van Manen and Clemen, a return to simpler views. Feine was satisfied with two sources: Spitta found that two-thirds of the book, including the "We-passages," were from the hand of Luke, and that a Jewish Christian document, containing scarcely any speeches, and admitting much more of popular tradition, appears to have been used, not only in the early chapters, but throughout. Jüngst makes no mention of the theory of Blass—whose recent commentary affords so much help from the linguistic side—although he seems to have published subsequently. Blass suggests that Luke may have derived his information regarding the early history of the Church in Jerusalem from Mark, who lived there, and who was connected both with Peter and with Barnabas. Whether Mark had put in writing what he knew is not so easily determined: but the probability is that he had.

The result reached by Jüngst himself is that the *Acts of the Apostles* have been composed essentially out of two sources, of which the one (A) embraces the "We-passages," and extends through the entire work, but has admitted in the second half considerable interpolations at the hand of the Redactor. In the first twelve chapters the Redactor (R) has used the so-called "ebionite" source made use of in the Gospel (B), but has dislocated its chronological order

to adapt it to A. This view has certainly the merit of simplicity. The difficulty is that he does not allow the final revision to be ascribed to Luke. To this companion of Paul's he refers A inclusive of the "We-passages"; R, the final Redactor, really the composer of the book, is brought down to the period between 110 and 125 A.D. He was certainly a bold Redactor who, at that date, should not only definitely link his book to the Gospel by referring to it as "the former" treatise, but should address it to a dead and unknown Theophilus. The proofs of this late date advanced by Jüngst must be pronounced entirely insufficient. They consist mainly of those passages in the book which refer to the wide extension of the proclamation of the Gospel—as in xiii. 49, xix. 10. But these references are no stronger than similar allusions which occur in the epistles of Paul, and certainly cannot be accepted as evidence of late date.

It may be taken for granted that the author of the Book of Acts made use of documentary sources, and was not particularly anxious to conceal this by skilful editing. Dislocations of the narrative, repetitions in the same or very slightly altered form, and other "infallible proofs," put this beyond question. It is enough to refer to c. v. 12b-14, c. ii. 41-47, cp. c. v. 32-35. Let any one consider how ii. 41, in which it is said that 3000 souls had been added to the Church, is related to v. 43, in which it is said that they were all in one place; or let him consider the relation between the statement of ii. 43, that many wonders and signs were done by the Apostles, and the account given in c. iii. of the *first* miracle, and he will conclude that this book was not written freely from information held in the mind of the writer, but that he was endeavouring to embody as much as he could of the information which lay before him in documentary sources. A very simple proof of this may be drawn from the 16th chapter, where in the first verse *Λύστρα* is treated as a feminine singular, while in the second verse it is considered to be a neuter plural. The natural inference certainly is that here Luke was not writing directly from his own knowledge, but was using other sources. And if in *Acts* Luke followed the same method as he tells us he used in the Gospel, then the probability is that he used all the sources he could lay hands on.

But, accepting this use of sources, the difficulty is to ascribe each portion of the book to its original source. Plainly the hinge of Jüngst's contention is his proof that R differs from A. In other words, the point he must make good is that Luke is accountable for the narrative used especially in the latter half of the book (A), but not for the revision of the whole. Now it is significant that Jüngst himself points out that the revision of the second half of *Acts* is not so careful as that which has been bestowed upon the first part: that is to say, he admits that it is more difficult to discriminate between

the hand of the Reviser and the hand of A than between R and B. ["Im ganzen lässt sich wohl behaupten, dass die Sorgfalt der Bearbeitung im zweiten Teil von Acta bedeutend nachgelassen hat."] It is in this discrimination of R as distinct from A that he differs from Blass, and we should therefore expect to find him especially strong in this part of his treatment of the subject. But it cannot be said that he has made out this part of his case.

The analysis of the first part of the book is considerably marred by the characteristic vice of German scholarship—pedantry, the inability to imagine that any writer should not adhere rigidly to the rules of grammar and the laws of logic. Thus Herr Jüngst damages his case by insisting upon contradictions which exist only in appearance and when judged by an absolutely inflexible rule, as when he finds that Bethany and Olivet could not, by one and the same person, be alluded to as the scene of the Ascension. It is difficult to understand why he should so confidently affirm that xvi. 6 is an addition, and that "Asia" in this verse is not the Roman province, and therefore contradicts the usage and also xviii. 23. This is the reasoning of a counsel who has a case to make out, not of a judicial critic. And frequent instances of this impart a feeling of uncertainty regarding his conclusions. No doubt he does make out that the narrative of the second portion of *Acts* is not entirely homogeneous, has not been written at first hand by the Author of the "We-passages." But this does not determine his point. It is quite possible that Luke himself may have interpolated his own original narrative or journal by accounts which he received from oral or written sources before he wrote, or while he was writing, the Book of Acts.

Jüngst characterises the style of R as distinguished from that of A and B. It is a good Greek style, not picturesque or graphic, yet embellishing and harmonizing the original sources. He also remarks that the Redactor, when he finds a happy or striking phrase in one of his sources, is apt to use it in the revision of the other: a trait of R which has a suspicious appearance of having been made to order. In the substance of what R contributes, the presentation of Paul is especially worthy of note; for this, he thinks, is due to the need of the time at which R flourished for a conciliatory view of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Herr Jüngst's volume is small, but it is full of matter, and can only be disposed of by carefully following him in all his analysis and criticism. No future investigator of the problem of the composition of *Acts* can afford to neglect his treatment of the book; and whether we agree or not with his conclusions, we are grateful for the material and the method which his compact volume furnishes.

MARCUS DODS.

**Die Einheitlichkeit der Paulinischen Briefe an der Hand der bisher mit Bezug auf die aufgestellten Interpolations-und-Compilationshypothesen geprüft.**

Von Lic. Dr Carl Clemen, Privatdocent an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.) 8vo, pp. 184. Price, M.4.80.

THE possibility that the Pauline epistles may have admitted interpolations from the hand of revisers, or may have received additions at the instance of the original writer, or may have been made up into their present form by combining letters or fragments originally separate, cannot well be denied. And yet, when admitted, this possibility opens an alarmingly wide door to conjectural emendations and unbridled criticism. We know so little of the first fortunes of the letters which churches or individuals received, and so little understand the feelings with which they would originally be regarded, or the use which might be made of them either by friends or enemies, that it is impossible, *à priori*, to deny that they may have been tampered with, and may not now exist in the form in which they came from their writer's hand. They were not at once put into wide circulation, nor were they regularly read even by the churches to which they were addressed. They were written on frail papyrus, and in the course of years would be reproduced. Copyists might not be absolutely infallible: words, sentences, possibly loose pages, might be misplaced. In profane literature there are many instances of the revisal of books either by their authors or by others. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides revised and retouched their own plays; the great orators issued differing editions of their speeches, and it is a small part of extant classical literature which can claim to have been exempt from the "emendations" and reconstructions of ancient editors. It is also known that in those times as now the writer sometimes added a sentence on the margin or interlined it.

It is the task of criticism to discover how far these normal hazards of ancient literature attach to the Pauline letters, and to what extent these most precious relics of antiquity have been affected by them. The possibility of referring a letter to two hands or to two different occasions presents so easy a means of accounting for all apparent contradictions and inconsistencies, and so ready an instrument for getting rid of all that does not approve itself to the often very limited apprehension of the critic, that its enthusiastic adoption by a certain school is not surprising. When the *Verisimilia* of Pierson and Naber appeared in 1886, few who read the

book took it seriously, and still fewer thought it worth while to reply. The analysis of the epistles into their supposed original parts and the allotment of paragraphs, verses, and clauses to their respective authors were there carried out with an astonishing self-confidence, and with an extravagance which nullified the effect. But, in Holland especially, the work begun by Marcion and revived by these modern critics has been diligently pursued by Baljon, Bruins, Cramer, Van Manen, Michelsen, Rovers, Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, and Straatman. In Germany, Steck and Völter represent the same tendency. Clemen, while he recognises that much of this criticism has been arbitrary and futile, and while he does not scruple to condemn many of the findings of the *Verisimilia* as "not merely nonsensical, but even insane," is yet of opinion that there is room for investigation, and that the whole truth about the relation of our received form of the Pauline letters to the original is not yet ascertained. While, therefore, he has on the one hand aimed at collecting all the opinions which have been published regarding the integrity of the Epistles, so that his volume may furnish a book of reference for friend and foe alike, he has, on the other hand, aimed at an independent sifting of the entire material already accumulated, and at a positive ascertainment of what is to be believed on this subject.

Clemen is himself entirely unfettered in his criticism, and, while as compared with the Dutch school he may be termed conservative, he reaches some conclusions which need revisal. First and Second Thessalonians and Philemon, he believes, have come down to us intact [*durchaus einheitlich*]. Galatians and Colossians are practically as they came from the hand of Paul. In Col. i. 18-20 we have, indeed, an addition by a redactor; and in Gal. iii. 18 we have the gloss of a stupid copyist. Also in Gal. vi. 3-5 and 6, we have two separate marginal notes by Paul himself. This view, which has its merits, he buttresses by the assertion that in the 11th v. Paul refers to these marginal notes in the words: "See with how large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand." A similar marginal note from the hand of Paul himself he finds in Rom. ii. 14. On the usual grounds he considers Rom. xvi. 1-20 to have been originally addressed to Ephesus. In our two Epistles to the Corinthians he finds five epistles, either in whole or in part, and so pieced together or woven into one, that the critic who disintegrates the present form and confidently allots the *disjecta membra* to their various original bodies must feel that he has done a great day's work, and thrown Cuvier, Owen, and Huxley completely into the shade.

The Epistle to the Philippians was the first to have its integrity called in question. Two hundred years ago Le Moyne suggested

that it was a combination of two letters, and this opinion is still held ; and, among others, by our present author. He is of opinion that the passages ii. 19-24 and iii. 2-4 are in their present connection irrelevant, and that they dislocate the sequence of the Epistle. They must therefore, he says, be disengaged from their present connection and be referred to an earlier Pauline letter to the Philippians. Ephesians is bodily dismissed ; and the Pastoral Epistles are referred to several hands not exclusive of Paul's.

On the whole, the small volume is stimulating and instructive ; and its author deserves the thanks of students of the New Testament for dealing with an important and difficult department of criticism with industry, scholarship, and patience, and in a serious spirit.

MARCUS DODS.

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### Grammaire grecque du Nouveau Testament.

*Par Ernest Combe. Lausanne. 8vo, pp. 189.*

THE Protestant Professor of Exegesis at Lausanne gives us in this handy and beautifully printed little book an introduction to Greek Testament study, which will no doubt be largely used in France. It is exceedingly clear and accurate, and in its small compass contrives to include a great deal. The accidence is given as far as the New Testament student requires it, and short syntax notes are supplied *pari passu*, that alone appearing which is really wanted for translation. A concluding chapter contains a well-written description of the New Testament Greek, and a plea for its scientific study. Hebrew and Aramaic are rather liberally quoted, but the beginner can ignore the superfluity without loss. Tables of passages referred to and of Greek words complete the volume. I have not detected any errors beyond a few obvious and unimportant misprints, and the infinitives *τιμᾶν* and *δηλοῦν*, which should not be given alone in the paradigm when the book is likely to be used mainly by possessors of modern texts. The force of prepositions in composition with verbs might with advantage have been added in chap. viii. My only other objection is to some occasional scraps of philology, which, if given at all, should be up to date. Thus the genitive in *-ου* from *-α* nouns is not from *-αο* ; *λέων* is not for *λεοντες*, which would give *λεους* ; *-τρα-* in *πατράσι* is not "for *-τερ-* by metathesis" ; and *ἠφ' ὧ* does not owe its *φ* to the digamma—for in this root there is no trace of aspiration in connexion with the *F*—but simply to the analogy of its present *ἠφορῶ*.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

**Étude sur le grec du Nouveau Testament.**

*Le Verbe : syntaxe des Propositions. Par M. l'Abbé Joseph Viteau.  
Paris : E. Bouillon. 8vo, pp. lxi. 240.*

THE appearance of M. Viteau's book is one of the most satisfactory of recent events in the field of Greek Testament Grammar, as it brings French scholarship into this work almost for the first time. That the subject would profit by the contributions of French orderliness and lucidity was to be expected, and the study of this essay does not disappoint expectation. There is nothing particularly new in the book, which covers the whole field of verb syntax, after describing in a lengthy introduction the general features of New Testament Greek. But the arrangement is admirable, the grammatical sense clear and sane, and the estimate of the work of others eminently sober and discriminating. M. Viteau's is an exhaustive summary of New Testament Greek within the limits he has selected, and he starts from this as his basis, classifying all the varieties of verbal clauses, and showing their relation to classical usage, post-classical and colloquial diction, and Hebrew modes of thought which underlay the expression of the writers. There is only one weakness in the execution, and many scholars would demur to its being so described. It seems to me that M. Viteau does not show keen enough sense of *historical* grammar. To be always recognising primeval features of proto-Aryan syntax in such Greek would, of course, be absurd. But I cannot help thinking that a grammar whose arrangement started from the conceptions of original functions in the case of each mood and tense would have a considerable advantage. The Subjunctive, Optative, and Infinitive particularly have very much to gain from a treatment which recognises their original character—a character which has by no means vanished, even in Hellenistic times. With this preface we can proceed to notice a few details.

M. Viteau opens with some distinctly irritating sets of *Addenda* and *Corrigenda* : we toil through a long list of rather minute corrections, only to find that there is another gleaming on a loose sheet. Having thus sacrificed to Nemesis at the outset of his task, the writer is able to resign himself to his native lucidity, and he soon succeeds in expelling the reader's initial grievance. The introduction (pp. iii.-lxi.) is a luminous review of the *differentia* of Hellenistic—or, as he prefers to call it, *Judæo-Christian*—Greek. The various elements which make up New Testament language are clearly set out and estimated according to their relative importance ; while from time to time we have notes of the virgin fields yet awaiting the diligence of explorers hardy enough to stand the excitement of

grammatical investigations in post-classical Greek. Only a few points in the introduction call for remark, especially as there is no claim of novelty. The knotty question of the languages spoken in Palestine is decided (p. ix.) after Schürer (II. i. 48), but the arguments selected seem decidedly weak. The fact that Paul addressed the Jerusalem mob in Aramaic proves nothing, as anyone can see who has before him the conditions of bi-lingual Wales. To speak in English there, even when the people understand it, is to speak as a foreigner, and conditions would seem to have been fairly parallel in the Palestine of Paul's day. The most natural impression in Acts xxii. 2 is that the crowd were expecting an address in Greek, and were unexpectedly conciliated by the sound of their native tongue. Passing on, we notice on p. xvi. the assertion that ἐπισκιάζειν in Luke i. 35 means merely "extend over." The blurring of the metaphor, so vivid in the torrid East, seems to me very unnecessary. The inscription quoted (p. xxi.) in two redactions to show the difference between educated and uneducated Greek is interesting as exhibiting the form παραδοῖ (after ᾧ ἄν) in the latter, with παραδῶ duly answering to it in the more correct copy (*C.I.A.*, III. i. 73, 74). Viteau (p. 66) remarks on the form as Asiatic, but there are some forms in this piece of Greek "as she was wrote" suggesting a Boeotian home for the learned scribe. Smyth does not recognise such terms as Ionic in his recent monograph on that dialect. The later part of the Introduction contains an excellent orientation of New Testament Greek as a colloquial idiom, distinguished from the vulgar on the one side and the literary on the other, the styles of the several writers being graduated according to their approximation to literary standards. The influence of common post-classical Greek, of Latin, and of Aramaic are set in their proper places. The author's treatment of Hebraisms is very sound. He shows how Shemitic modes of thought affected the Greek, mainly by causing the selection of constructions, current in spoken Greek, which suited best the Hebrew love of directness, co-ordination, emphasis, etc. We are thus enabled to see how it is that Greek warrant can almost always be given for locutions which have passed as Hebraisms. The relation between LXX. and New Testament Greek is well described in this connexion; note the interesting point (p. xxxvii.) that non-classical types in the New Testament are almost always found first in the LXX. Latinising influences in Greek (p. liv.) are traced especially to bi-lingual official documents.

Taking now some details in the body of the book, I notice what seems a confusion in the treatment of "unreal" indicatives (p. 4): ἡδύνατο παραθῆναι is not unreal, for it *could* as a fact have been sold. It is simply the substitution of a different phrase for one which would have expressed the unreality through the

medium of grammatical construction. On p. 26 Viteau quotes John viii. 25, in W. H.'s text, with the gloss "entendez : οὐκ εἰμί ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν τὴν ἀρχήν;" surely to supply an interrogative οὐκ εἰμί before this difficult phrase is absolutely impossible. It is certainly not what the editors meant by their punctuation, for Westcott (Comm. *in loc.*) defends the R.V. margin (see Winer, p. 581 n.<sup>3</sup>). The suggestion in the same paragraph to read Acts xi. 17 ἐγὼ τις ἡμῶν δυνατός . . .;—with τις qualifying δυνατός as in Theocr. vii. 28 (read 38), etc.—seems at least plausible. The remarks on the aorist subjunctive (p. 31) might be supplemented by noting the historical fact that the future tense took its rise (mainly) in the subjunctive of the sigmatic aorist, which was detached to form a new tense: the close connexion visible throughout Greek literature between future indicative and aorist subjunctive is manifestly due to this in the main. On ἄφες ἴδωμεν (p. 32) the use of the modern Greek ἄς might have been brought in. In Matt. vii. 4 ἄφες ἐκβάλλω is very little stronger than the "let me cast out" (mod. Gr. ἄς ἐκβάλλω) which the English gives; and in Matt. xxvii. 49, Mark xv. 36, there is a very strong reason for treating ἄφες, ἄφετε, as almost an auxiliary, bringing the translation into line with the R.V. of ἄφες ἐκβάλα. If we translate "Let be, let us see," we make identical words bear opposite senses in Matthew and Mark: in the former the soldier is bidden to "let alone" his kindly-meant action; in the latter he asks his comrades to "let him alone" to perform it. But if both mean simply "Let us see," the inconsistency between these two identical narratives disappears. M. Viteau keeps W. H.'s punctuation, but translates like the English version. Here, of course, he has the mass of authority with him; on the next point he is, I should imagine, unsupported. He ventures to assert (pp. 45 and 79) that the normal sequence in a dependent clause is an aorist subjunctive, answering to the classical optative, after a secondary tense in the principal clause; the present subjunctive in such a sentence would be the direct form retained unchanged. This modal distinction between present and aorist subjunctive is a most dangerous principle to bring in—one would almost be inclined to suggest that M. Viteau fancied himself writing on Latin instead of Greek. What is to come of the special connexion between aorist subjunctive and the future if the former is to be the successor of the optative? Surely we must have very strong evidence before we assert that the difference between present and aorist subjunctive has anything of a time character? The evidence here is not at all overwhelming, if I may judge from a hasty count of the examples of ἵνα in the Synoptic Gospels following secondary tenses. The present and aorist come out exactly equal. As a matter of fact, the present is very much less common than the

aorist subjunctive, and it is more liable to be used after a primary tense, because its *continuous* force is more often needed there.

A much vexed question, that of  $\delta\acute{\omega}\eta$  *versus*  $\delta\acute{\omega}\eta$  in 2 Tim. ii. 26 and Eph. i. 17, is discussed on pp. 66 and 80. His argument for the optative is not decisive: Winer's new German editor seems to me safer (p. 120) in reading  $\delta\acute{\omega}\eta$  there, and W. H. may be said to incline about 49 per cent. to that view (see Vol. ii. p. 168). Much less hesitation may be felt in differing from Viteau on Matt. xxvi. 50, where he would gloss ( $\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}$ )  $\epsilon\phi'$   $\delta$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota$ —another absolutely incredible ellipse. Little noticeable appears—barring an argument for ecabatic  $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$  (p. 74 note)—till p. 130, where we have an extremely flat exegesis of John xxi. 19-23:  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$   $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  means apparently “till I come back” to the place where he is standing. A rather unguarded grammatical note appears on p. 142. “L'emploi du subjonctif sans  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  existe chez Homère (Goodwin, 545), et doit appartenir à la langue familière.” Of course in Homer  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  was entirely free to accompany the subjunctive or absent itself, there being a distinct difference of meaning. Our author can hardly mean that this primitive freedom survived colloquially throughout the classical period, and crops out in the  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$  as a genuine survival. On the infinitive the most satisfactory arrangement is surely to give first the uses which preserve the original dative or locative verbal noun, developing thence the uses in which the infinitive has become a mere indeclinable. The lack of this historical method makes the epexegetic infinitive (a pure locative) and the final (a dative) into an extension “surtout hébraïsant.” On the contrary, nothing could be more entirely in accord with the original genius of the infinitive as developed on Indo-Germanic soil. That Greek mainly, and Latin entirely, restricted such uses to poetry in the literary epoch, only shows that other constructions were considered more precise, and a recrudescence in late Greek was perfectly natural. Hebraism is applied with decided success, on the other hand (p. 202), to explain the cases of “nominative absolute,” so common in the Apocalypse—*cf.* also John vii. 38, Mark xii. 40, Phil. iii. 19. Two small criticisms on the treatment of  $\mu\eta$  will serve to conclude with. Is it enough to say (p. 213) in John iii. 18, that the second  $\mu\eta$  ( $\delta\tau\iota$   $\mu\eta$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ ) “a dû être attiré par le premier?” Surely the  $\delta\tau\iota$  clause gives the *charge*, “for not having believed”: contrast 1 John v. 10,  $\delta\tau\iota$   $\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ , “because (as a *fact*) he hath not believed.” And is M. Viteau right in declaring (p. 217 *sq.*) that the use of  $\omicron\upsilon$  with the participle is Hebraising, as classical syntax would have required  $\mu\eta$ ? In the great majority of cases, at least, classical syntax would have required  $\omicron\upsilon$ : the encroachments in later Greek were in the opposite direction, and the comparison of the two Hebrew negatives is at best a very fallacious one. By the way, we

may note that one quotation given (Rom. viii. 20) only applies to *οὐ* with a participle when we treat *ἐκούσα* as such—a very “historical” proceeding indeed!

These nibbling criticisms have, I fear, given a very imperfect picture of a good and careful book. I leave its perusal for the present with two wishes—the appearance of a second edition without “additions et corrections,” and the early fulfilment of M. Viteau’s hinted ambition to become some day the desiderated French Winer or Buttman.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

### Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit.

*Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Ap. Joh. 12, von Hermann Gunkel, a.o. Prof. der Theologie in Berlin. Mit Beiträgen von Heinrich Zimmern, a.o. Prof. der Assyriologie in Leipzig. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895. 8vo. pp. xiv. 431. Price, M.10.*

THIS is a very able work, and it will give me great pleasure to point out its merits. It has also some striking faults, which, if unmentioned, may do harm to the cause of progress. I venture, therefore, most unwillingly to mention them at once. They are three, viz.:—(1) an excessive self-reliance; (2) a superabundant amount of controversy; and (3) in some parts of the book an insufficient recognition of the international character of Biblical criticism. By self-reliance I mean not merely a confidence in one’s own ability, but a tendency to suppose that all problems can be solved by one method—the method for which one has oneself a special predilection. By controversy I mean finding fault with individuals, instead of leaving the truth (as a rule) to fight its own battles. By recognition of the international character of criticism I mean treating the critical study of the Bible as a historical movement in which each of the leading nations has had a share.

Now, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, it appears to me that in theory all competent scholars are agreed that critical study has passed into what may be called a semi-archæological phase. Archæology and the history of religions must be frequently consulted, even with a view to such questions as the age and origin of documents. In practice, however, Old Testament critics as a rule have not made quite the most of their opportunities. They refer sometimes to Assyriology and Egyptology, but too often in such a way as to suggest that they have not given very serious study to these important *Hilfswissenschaften*, and, so far as I can judge, the

writers on the so-called Old Testament theology have rarely much acquaintance with the history of religions. It is, therefore, desirable that some one should come forward to urge critics to bring up their practice to the level of their theory, and that this importunate person should be, not an outsider like Professor Sayce, but one who is at once an Old Testament critic and, in a certain limited sense, an Assyriologist. Professor Gunkel may very likely be fully qualified for this function. His acute study on Nahum i. (ZATW, 1893, pp. 223-244), of which, on p. 102, he presents us with some helpful corrections, reveals in him a genuine critical capacity, reminding us on the one side of Bickell, and on the other of Wellhausen and Stade; and his present work displays an interior knowledge of Assyriology, for which, among his colleagues, it would be difficult to find a parallel. But he should remember that there were grave reasons why a thorough treatment of Old Testament problems from a combined critical and Assyriological point of view could not at an earlier date have been hopefully attempted, and he should give cordial and graceful recognition to any workers, whether German or English, who represented his own side before, by age and ripe study, he was himself qualified to come forward.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On p. 30 "some Assyriologists and theologians" are mentioned as having anticipated the author in referring to certain Old Testament passages, viz.:—Richm, Hommel, Zimmern, and G. A. Barton. A somewhat meagre list! Here are a very few omitted references on various points.

P. 78, Jer. li. 34, 44. See my *Jeremiah*, vol. II. (1885), p. 293; *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 317.

P. 38, note 2, Job ix. 13. Cf. rather *Job and Solomon*, p. 76 f.

P. 46, note 2. אפס. Cf. Halévy, *Recherches critiques*, 1876, p. 228: Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 244.

P. 91. St George. Very strange to omit Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, part I., who connects St George with Horus.

Pp. 63, 64. Cf. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 1890, p. 162.

P. 67, note 8. Ps. lxxviii. 31, בַּעֲלֵי. The emendation was adopted by me from Matthes.

Pp. 30-33. Cf. *Prophecies of Isaiah*, II. 31.

P. 22. Cf. S. Karpe, *Revue Sémitique*, avril 1894. P. 29, note 2. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, p. 174.

P. 29; ribbu = רִבּוּ. See also Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 258, cf. 141.

P. 136, note 1. Isa. xlv. 7. Refer rather to my *Isaiah*, which preceded Dillmann's.

P. 140, note. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, p. 357 and elsewhere, and *Journal of Philology*, ix. 97, can hardly be ignored.

P. 148, on Phil. ii. 6; and p. 377, on Gen. xiv. 14, add reference to Hitzig.

P. 121. Effect of Babylonian Exile. Cf. *Origin of Psalter*, pp. 267-271.

P. 293. Origin of Essenes. Cf. *Or. Ps.*, pp. 418-420, 445-449 (Babylonian and Persian influences).

Among German scholars, I venture to think that, in spite of his critical and theological backwardness, Schlottmann well deserved to be mentioned as a pioneer in the study of Hebrew mythology, nor can I help thinking that indirectly the articles "Leviathan" and "Rahab" in Riehm's HWB (1884), to which Professor Gunkel refers on p. 30, may owe much to Riehm's intercourse with his learned colleague, while among recent writers Professor Budde (*Urgeschichte*, 1883) has shown an attitude, at once appreciative and critical, which should have softened the somewhat sharp criticisms once and again directed against him by Professor Gunkel (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 306, is much more generous). Among English scholars there are three, Robertson Smith, Sayce, and myself—the first for his wide grasp of fact and theory (though not specially for his Assyriology), the second for his Assyriological learning and interest in the Old Testament, the third for an ideal in which, twenty years ago, he stood quite alone among Old Testament scholars, but which is now taken up by Professor Gunkel and, as I hope, other rising German scholars. It can only be the inadequacy of German libraries, and the seclusion of German students, which have led Professor Gunkel to ignore the fact that I have been his chief predecessor, and to insert on p. 58 a strange and inappropriate note, in which I become the scapegoat of a school which insists on accounting for resemblances in imagery or expression by the dependence of one writer on another.<sup>1</sup> I might content myself with a bare expression of surprise at this. But it is wiser, I think, to try to put matters right, and so I will mention that, from 1877 onwards, in a succession of works, I have anticipated much of Professor Gunkel's exegetical evidence for the dragon and ocean-myths, and traced some of the outlines of a sketch of the relations of Israel to the mythologies and religions of other nations. Strongly impressed by Kuenen's *Godsdienst van Israël*, I yet recognised the *lacunæ* in the lamented author's historical construction, and devoted myself, after Isaiah, to special studies on Genesis. There the folk-lore elements at once interested me, as several articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* testify; and, with reference to Gen. i. (which forms the theme of Part I. of *Schöpfung und Chaos*), it should be observed that my article "Cosmogony" deals with one of Professor Gunkel's most striking ideas—viz., that the Hebrew cosmogony, together with works of pronounced supernaturalism, contains mythic elements of a very archaic type. What the diffi-

<sup>1</sup> The idea that the Book of Job is a monument of the revival of mythology in Israel is one which is, in a special sense, my own. But this is quite consistent with the belief that, if the text of Ps. civ. 26 is correct, the writer is phraseologically indebted to Job xl. 29, 19 (?see lxx.). Professor Gunkel is in too great a hurry to make a point, and treats one of his closest allies as an opponent.

culties were which interrupted my Genesis studies I have said elsewhere (*Origin of the Psalter*, p. xvii.); they are precisely those which Professor Gunkel would have felt had he been in my position. But the books entitled *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (ed. 1, 1880-1881), *Job and Solomon* (1887), *The Psalms* (1888), and the *Origin of the Psalter* (1891), together with my article, "Jonah: a Study in Jewish Folk-lore and Religion," in the *Theological Review* for 1877 (cf. *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, 1893, pp. 316-319), show that I was moving in advance of contemporary German exegetes.<sup>1</sup> In the latest of these works (1891) I took a step even beyond Professor Gunkel, by admitting Mazdeism as well as Babylonian religion within the range of my inquiries. A cry of triumph was raised in the hostile camp when the brilliant and learned Darmesteter published his revolutionary work on the Avesta; it seemed to the party which would exclude the Bible from "religionsgeschichtliche" researches that I had been "beating the air." But brilliance cannot be accepted in lieu of the humdrum, but necessary, details of all-round investigation. It is not to Darmesteter that I owe the recognition of the *lacunae* in my statements. The progress of study has convinced all workers, not excluding myself, that there was most probably a very early infiltration of Babylonian ideas into early Mazdean beliefs. Professor Gunkel has not experienced the fascination of this department of the history of religion, but he leaves room for Zoroastrian influences on Jewish and Jewish-Christian beliefs, though (if I may say so) rather too parenthetically. I ought to add that in the same little-known work I sketched the relations of post-Exilic Israel to the religion of Babylon, and I conceive that the position taken up there, and in my *Job and Solomon*, though it requires supplementing, has not been fundamentally subverted. It is much to my regret that the necessity of winding-up long-planned critical work on Isaiah postponed my resumption of this subject. But, at any rate, it is not to me that either Professor Gunkel or Professor Sayce can address a complaint of the non-assimilation of the lessons of the Tell-el-Amarna discoveries by Biblical critics.

My present position, then, is briefly this:—"The letters sent by

<sup>1</sup> I agree with the criticism embodied in the following sentence, though no English critic could have ventured (or would, I hope, have wished) to express himself thus. The writer has been saying that the Resurrection belief did not arise out of "Ahnungen," but has quite another origin. "Demnach ist dieser Glaube dem Alttestamentler ein sehr schwieriges Räthsel" (p. 291). Professor Gunkel's own solution ("die Lösung," as he calls it) is indicated in the context. If space allows, I will return to it. No reference is here made to Zoroastrianism. But, at any rate, we want a connecting link between the half-developed Babylonian belief and the almost full-blown resurrection-faith of Israel.

kings and governors of Western Asia to Amenhotep III. and Amenhotep IV. prove that, before the Egyptian conquests, and before the rise of the Assyrian kingdom, Babylonian culture had spread to the shores of the Mediterranean. Religious myths must have formed part of this culture.”<sup>1</sup> We need not, therefore, be surprised if not only Babylonian ideas on a future state, but the Babylonian creation- and deluge-myths, made their way into Canaan. I do not, however, think it at all probable that such Canaanitish-Babylonian myths were adopted, in their complete form, by the Israelites, or even that we can, from the fragmentary Genesis-documents and from other rather doubtful sources, reconstruct the early Israelitish ideas. Indeed, to dogmatise as to the forms which the Babylonian myths themselves wore at the time when they penetrated into Canaan would be most injudicious. But there appears to be sufficient evidence that there was a great revival of the mythological spirit among the Jews in the Babylonian and Persian periods, and it is very possible that the old myths assumed more definite forms through the direct and indirect influence of Babylonia. Such has been the way in which, latterly, I have fitted the results of Tell-el-Amarna into my older theory. And with regard to the strata of the Yahwistic narrative, which, in 1877, were already a difficulty to me (*Or. Ps., l. c.*), I recognise, with Budde and others, that “the Yahwist” and “the Elohist” are not so much individuals as schools of writers, and that it is not impossible that this school went on writing till quite late in the pre-Exilic period. From this point of view I take up Professor Gunkel’s *Schöpfung und Chaos*, and ask—(1) What new and sound results has the learned author attained with regard to Gen. i. and the connected literature? (2) What has he done for the interpretation of Rev. xii. (which, he says, relates to the creation of the latter age as Gen. i. describes the creation of the primitive age)? and (3) What incidental contributions has he made to Biblical exegesis?

It must be premised that Prof. Gunkel is no despiser of the results of literary analysis, though he feels with me that the leading textual critics are still too phraseological, and the leading exegetes of the poetical and prophetic books not alive enough to survivals of antique notions. His own contribution to what in popular books is sometimes called “higher criticism” is this—that he gives positive and definite expression to the hints dropped now and then by previous writers, and says right out, “The close of the literary arrangement of legends in J is to be placed in the seventh century. The dates usually given are mere compromises, and to be abandoned. But most of the legends are very old” (p. 144 f.). I doubt whether the writer would have said this previously to 1888.

<sup>1</sup> “Ancient Beliefs in Immortality,” *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1891, p. 964.

Proceeding next to the all-important question, Does the cosmogony in Gen. i. 1—ii. 4a contain archaic elements? Prof. Gunkel answers that it does, and gives a complete and well-rounded form to his answer. So far so good. And of course the chief points in the Hebrew cosmogony have ultimately a Babylonian origin. As Jensen has well put it, "The Bible took up the Babylonian legends of creation in such a way as to suppress what was specifically Babylonian, and [on the whole] to substitute a monotheistic for a mythological and polytheistic element." The dragon *Tiāmat*, which the cosmogony in Gen. i. rejects, has found its place, as others besides Jensen have remarked,<sup>1</sup> in the apocryphal dragon of Babylon, which Daniel is said to have caused to burst asunder. But when did a Babylonian creation-myth first find its way into Palestine? Presumably before the Israelitish conquests. But have we any evidence of a Hebrew cosmogony before the Exile? Long ago I referred to Prov. iii. 19, 20; viii. 22-31; Job xv. 7, 8, together with the introduction to the story of Eden. But the last of these passages is so fragmentary, and the others are so vague as well as poetical, that they do not help us much. We must therefore look further, and Dr Bacon has acutely referred to Gen. xlix. 25 [cf. Am. vii. 4] and Judges v. 20 as presenting some elements of a cosmogonic story.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Gunkel, however, has far ampler resources. He thinks that from scattered allusions in the canonical and extra-canonical books to the myth of the dragon which *Yahwè* in the olden times overcame, and to the stormy primeval ocean which *Yahwè* subdued, he has recovered "an ample and copious history of the myth of chaos and creation" among the Israelites (p. 111). The passages on which he relies for evidence of an early Israelitish creation-myth akin to the Babylonian are firstly those in which the chaos-dragon seems to be referred to either (*a*) as *Rahab*, or (*b*) as *Leviathan*, or (*c*) as *Behemoth*, or (*d*) as the dragon in the sea, or (*e*) as the serpent. Under (*a*) the author mentions—Isa. li. 9 f.; Ps. lxxxix. 10-15; Job xxvi. 12 f.; Job ix. 13; Ps. lxxxvii. 4; Isa. xxx. 7; Ps. xl. 5. Under (*b*)—Ps. lxxiv. 12-19; Isa. xxvii. 1; Job xl. 25—xli. 26; Ps. civ. 25 f.; Job iii. 8. Under (*c*)—Job xl. 19-24; Enoch ix. 7-9; 4 Ezra vi. 49-52; Isa. xxx. 6; Ps. lxxviii. 31. Under (*d*)—Job vii. 12; Ps. xlv. 20; Ezek. xxix. 3-6, xxxii. 2-8; Jer. li. 34, 36, 42; Ps. Sol. ii. 28-34. Under (*e*)—Am. ix. 2 f.

Next come the passages which may refer to the primitive ocean subdued by *Yahwè*, viz., Ps. civ. 5-9; Job xxxviii. 8-11; Prov. viii. 22-31; Jer. v. 22, xxxi. 35; Ps. xxxiii. 6, lxxv. 7 f.; Eccles.

<sup>1</sup> I am glad that, when on *Bel and the Dragon*, Prof. Gunkel has done justice to the acuteness of the Rev. C. J. Ball, at once a theologian and an Assyriologist.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Bacon adds: 1 Sam. ii. 8; Deut. xxxiii. 13, 26. But these are late passages.

xliii. (25) 23; Prayer of Man. 2-4; Isa. l. 2 f.; or in which the tradition of the primeval subduing of the sea is directly or indirectly applied to the latter days, such as Ps. xlvii.; Isa. xvii. 12-14; Hab. iii. 8; Nah. i. 4; Ps. xviii. 16-18, xciii. 3, 4, lxxvii. 17, cvi. 9; Ex. xv. 7; Isa. lix. 15-20. And lastly we have passages in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and in the Apocalypse of John, such as Ap. Baruch xxix.; Add. Esth. i. 4-10; Bel and the Dragon; Rev. xii.

No doubt many, or even most, of these passages are correctly interpreted; what follows? This, in the first place,—that the chief elements of the Babylonian creation-myth were current among the Jews till a quite late period, a result which of course does not exclude the influence of other Oriental forms of belief besides the Babylonian. Prof. Gunkel holds, as I have long since done, that there was a revival of mythology in the later period, but he sees, what neither I nor any one else has yet seen, that all the scattered mythic elements, when put together, give evidence of the existence of a much more mythological view of the origin of the world than from a study of Gen. i. 1 we should have supposed possible. He has also shown that there was, in later times at any rate, a systematic application of primitive myths in an eschatological sense. And he thinks that he has conclusively proved that the Babylonian creation-myth existed among the Israelites from the time of their entrance into Canaan, if not among their remoter ancestors.

There are, however, two weaknesses in Professor Gunkel's argument. First, he is too much given to taking the early date of passages for granted. I can myself find but one undoubtedly pre-Exilic passage in the list quoted above, viz., Am. ix. 3. We there learn that, according to Jewish folk-lore, there was a serpent (*nāhāsh*) at the bottom of the sea which could destroy a multitude of men, but how pale a reflexion this is of the dragon cut in pieces by the god of light! The case is more remarkable even than that of the priest-like seraphim of Isaiah's inaugural vision—Isaiah's only reference to a religious myth—for Professor Gunkel will not easily persuade me that Hackmann is wrong in denying the Isaianic authorship of Is. xi. 1-9 (see p. 87). That this is not decisive against the new theory I fully admit. We have only fragments of the early prophetic works, and, apart from this, it was not the object of the prophets to baptize folk-lore with the spirit of a pure religion. And, as Professor Gunkel points out, we have in the brazen sea of Solomon's temple, with its twelve supporting oxen (1 Kings vii. 23, 25) an evident copy of the *apsi* or "abysses" of the temples of Marduk.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Giesebrecht unwisely denies this (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1895, p. 194), but see Schrader, KIB, iii. 1, pp. 13, 143; cf. p. 27 f. (referred to by Gunkel). Cf. also Kusters, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1879, p. 445; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 63.

And beside this we may place (p. 163) the fragment of song ascribed to Solomon, virtually discovered by Wellhausen, which clearly proves the existence of the creation-idea in comparatively early times (see *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 193, 212). At the same time, it is still possible to hold that before the Exile the cosmogonic ideas of the Israelites at large were in a fragmentary state. Also, that there was a revival of mythology, not only as Professor Gunkel equally with myself holds, during and after the Exile, but in the last century of the pre-Exilic period, and that the myths which this critic rightly supposes to have been known traditionally to the Israelites in very early times were then taken up by religious writers, enriched with some fresh elements, and adapted to general use. And, finally, that the creation-idea did not become theologically fruitful till Exilic and post-Exilic times.

The eschatological application of primitive myths is a point on which Professor Gunkel has thrown much light. The allusions to Yahwë's power over the angry primeval ocean are more numerous than one had suspected, though some of the instances quoted (*e.g.*, Isa. xvii. 12-14) are very far-fetched indeed. I think, however, that he underrates the extent to which mythological phrases may be combined with references to historical situations. It is a strong measure to assert that the enemies spoken of in Isa. lix. 18 are merely unknown foes, such as "Gog and Magog"; we might just as well say that in Hag. ii. 21, 22, there was no included reference to the Persians. Against such a narrow view of apocalyptic writings, see Joel iii., iv. But it is in the second part of Professor Gunkel's book, which has to do with Rev. xii., that the theory of the eschatological application of myths is applied with the most startling results. Here, at any rate, Professor Gunkel has, so far as I can judge, no predecessors. Professor Spitta is indeed of opinion that the Apocalypse, especially chap. xii., contains some mythological elements (see, *e.g.*, his *Offenbarung des Johannes*, pp. 353, 358), but as it now stands, Rev. xii. is the free composition of a Jewish apocalyptic writer. Not so, says Professor Gunkel; this is no fancy piece, but full of a holy seriousness, and it is fundamentally neither Jewish nor Christian, but, at least in the main, the codification of a tradition originating in Babylonian mythology, and applied eschatologically. The proofs of this are—(1) the breaks in the connexion, which can only be explained by a knowledge of the dragon- and chaos-myth; (2) the combination of certain pale and scarcely intelligible details with others that are in a high degree concrete, but are unexplained by the context; (3) the references in

*Apsu*=the primeval ocean. Like Halévy, Gunkel connects the word with the root **אפס**, and, with Hommel, ventures on a comparison with the common expression **אפסי ארין**.

Daniel, Enoch, and elsewhere, to the same traditional material. Professor Gunkel thinks that to the Jewish writer himself many details of the mythic tradition were unintelligible. And of this he gives two examples, Ἀρμαγεδών (Rev. xvi. 16), and the mystic number three and a half (Rev. xii. 14, cf. 6). He vigorously attacks the various current explanations of Armagedon, which can neither, as he declares, be "mountain (or, mountain-district) of Megiddo," nor yet הַר מְגִדּוֹ, "his precious mountain" = the land of Israel (ZATW, 1887, p. 170), nor yet, by *gematria*, רומה הגדולה "Rome the great" (Ewald), but a name of mythological origin, and, as Zimmern and Jensen think, compounded with a form of a divine name, handed down to us side by side with the name of the Babylonian goddess of the underworld, Ἐρεσχιγαλ (Erištigal).<sup>1</sup> I confess that this strikes me as highly probable. The latter-day defeat of the dragon and his helpers would naturally be placed on the spot where Tîamat in the olden time had been overpowered, and consigned to the abyss. But I would not go so far as Professor Gunkel in disparaging the interpretation "Mountain of Megiddo." That "mountain" should be substituted for "plain" is not inconceivable with Ezek. xxxviii. 8, 21, xxxix. 2, 4, 17, before us. Only, I would rather take this as the Jewish writer's misinterpretation than as the original sense of the story from which, as an arranger (I do not like the word codifier) of earlier material, he drew. And now as to "three and a half." The commentators tell us that this mystic number comes from Daniel (vii. 25, and elsewhere). Old Testament critics explain it in that book with reference to contemporary history. Professor Gunkel disputes the legitimacy of this, and declares that, having regard to the nature of the context both in Daniel and (especially) in John's Apocalypse, the number must have belonged to Judaistic tradition. On p. 390 he offers a still partly incomplete mythological explanation. Lastly, the number 666 is תְּהוֹם קְדִמוֹנִיָּה, *tehom kadmoniyyah*, "primeval chaos" (cf. "the old serpent," "the first Adam"). *Se non è vero, è ben trovato*.

In the course of his argument the author is led to resume the indication of Babylonian elements in Judaism. Among them he includes the seven spirits and the twenty-four πρεσβύτεροι in the Apocalypse, the twelve Zodiac angels in Enoch, the seven hells of Rabbinic tradition, the story of Esther (following Jensen and Zimmern), Leviathan and Behemoth in Enoch and Ap. Baruch, the

<sup>1</sup> We have the name in two forms, Ἐρεσμιγαδών in a magic formula printed by Kuhnert from a Greek papyrus, *Rheinisches Museum*, xlix. 49 (not 94 as printed in Gunkel, p. 389), and Ἐρεσμιγαδών on a lead weight from Alexandria, *Rheinisches Museum*, xviii. 563.

dragons in Add. Esth., the story of Bel and the Dragon, and lastly, the seventh chapter of Daniel. Of the vision in the latter passage he says that it is an allegorization of the old chaos-myth. It is closely connected (as the commentators have seen) with Isa. xxx. 7, Ezek. xxix. 32, Ps. lxxviii. 31, lxxxvii. 4, Isa. xxvii. 1, Ps. lxxiv., Ps. Sol. ii. 1, in all of which Prof. Gunkel recognises the eschatological application of old myths. It would have been pleasing to English scholars had he mentioned Robertson Smith's suggestion that the imagery in Dan. vii. 2 is borrowed from primitive cosmogonic stories (see Bevan, *Daniel*, p. 120), and Fuller's reference to the description of the Deluge in the Babylonian Deluge-story (*Speaker's Bible*, vi. 323 f.).

I have myself no difficulty in accepting, to a considerable degree, the extension which the author has given to the idea of tradition. In a fragmentary way the scholars who have preceded this fortunate discoverer have long believed in tradition.<sup>1</sup> And though Goldziher carried the theory of a traditional element in the Jewish Haggada too far, yet I would not deny that fragments of an old tradition may lie there under a mass of fantastic accretions. Prof. Gunkel is however, perhaps, tempted to exaggerate the completeness of the tradition in the older period, and hardly allows enough for the mixture of elements in the later.

There is scarcely any space left for chronicling even a few of the many bold suggestions for the correction and elucidation of the text of the Hebrew Bible. One of the most convincing is due to a university student, Herr Gottfried Schmidt; it is to correct יום in Job iii. 8 into מַ (p. 59). Cursers of the day are hardly suitable in this context. Leviathan, *i.e.*, the chaos-dragon, lies in a charmed sleep in the now hushed ocean. Those who "curse it," or "keep it under the ban," are not impious interferers with the divinely-willed order of nature, but use their spells under the authority of the Most High. Strange, very strange, is the explanation (p. 40) of Ps. xl. 5, "Happy is the man . . . that does not look toward the Rehābim (the Rahabs, = the 'helpers of Rahab,' Job ix. 13), nor turn aside to a lie." A most original view is given of Ezek. viii. 10, which would have startled our friend Robertson Smith. The forms "pourtrayed on the wall" are representations of the animals of the Zodiac, and the "image of jealousy," מַמְלֵךְ הַקִּנְיָה (w. 3, 5), is rather the "reed-image," מַמְלֵךְ הַקִּנְיָה, a name of the chaos-monster

<sup>1</sup> In this connexion I would observe that on p. 237 the author is not quite just to Dillmann. That great scholar's *Enoch* was published in 1853, when the idea of tradition was not likely to have suggested itself as probable. Yet so fair is Dillmann (p. vii.) that he admits that there may conceivably be some basis of *tradition* in the later stories of Enoch.

(p. 141). Ps. lxviii. 31 is rendered thus from a corrected text (p. 66):—

[Yahwè] hath rebuked | the beasts of the reeds,  
The assembly of the gods, | the lords of nations.  
The stirred up sea | he purified more than silver ;  
He scattered the nations | who had pleasure in war.

The poet compares the warlike nations to the sea. The judgment pronounced upon them extends to their gods, who are, in Jewish belief, the angels appointed to be “lords of nations,” and who have misused their commission for the oppression of the innocent. Reeds, acc. to Job xl. 21, are the abode of Behemoth, and Behemoth was originally the chaos-monster. Very strange things (not without an element of truth) are told us on the text and meaning of Job xl. and xli., but I must not pause to relate them. On Ps. xliv. 20, the helpful suggestion is made to read תִּנֵּן for תִּנִּים. The people complains that God has treated it as if it were the chaos-dragon ; חֲלֵל receives the sense of “dishonouring,” which is defended with great plausibility, p. 33, note 3. Rev. xxi. 6 is admirably explained (p. 370) as an allusion to the dangerous primeval ocean. Elsewhere I am pleased to find that the author recognises the Hebrew origin of, at any rate, chap. xiii. of the Apocalypse as probable.

I wish I could do more justice to the attractive sides of this original book. There are some things from which I decidedly differ ; many things which I doubt ; many things which, as a matter of taste, I could wish expressed otherwise or omitted. But on the whole it is a fascinating book, and its value is greatly increased by the translations from cuneiform sources by Prof. H. Zimmern in the appendix.

T. K. CHEYNE.

### Via, Veritas, Vita.

*Lectures on “Christianity in its most Simple and Intelligible Form.”  
Delivered in Oxford and London, &c. By James Drummond,  
M.A., LL.D., &c. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.  
8vo, pp. xiv. 331. Price, 10s. 6d.*

THE Hibbert Trust Fund was originally intended to be applied in the manner deemed by the Trustees to be “most conducive to the spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form,” and it is Christianity in such a form that Dr James Drummond seeks to set forth in the volume which closes the present series.

The Lectures are eight in number, and treat respectively of—(i.) The Essential Character of Christianity and the Christian Church ;

(ii.) The Earliest Christian View of the Bible ; (iii.) The Modern View of the Bible ; (iv.) The Kingdom of God ; (v.) The Doctrine of God ; (vi. and vii.) Christian Ethics ; and finally (viii.) The Motive Power of Christianity.

Dr Drummond's treatment of his subject is necessarily limited in scope, and the way in which, with a few bold strokes of the pen, he sets forth some of the noblest features of elemental Christianity is admirable. Yet one cannot but feel some surprise, not to say disappointment, that neither the death nor the resurrection of our Lord finds any place within his self-prescribed limits.

In the first Lecture it is inferred that the notion of a Church entered very little, or not at all, into Christ's teaching, and that there is no evidence that Jesus made His apostles the nucleus of a society which was to be constituted under fixed rules, and placed under the direction of a hierarchy. Yet the Church may truly be said to have been founded by Christ, in the sense that it was the unpremeditated consequence of His life and doctrine. "We must conclude then," says Dr Drummond, "that even if Jesus did not constitute the Church by any express command, still its formation is a genuine and inevitable outcome of the Christian principle, and in this sense we may speak of Christ as the Founder of the Church."

The idea of a sacred order, clerical or sacerdotal, "is quite alien to the original principles of Christianity." Yet inasmuch as every society requires officers for the direction and administration of its affairs, and such an organisation, agreeable to the system which has prevailed in the largest sections of the Church ever since, arose out of practical necessities at an early period, "it is perfectly legitimate, and runs counter to the primitive Gospel only when it lays claim to a special divine authority, and invests its officers with clerical or sacerdotal functions"—two statements which we venture to think hard to reconcile.

With regard to the sacraments, Dr Drummond's conclusion is also of a negative character. "It is impossible to prove," he says, "that Christ formally constituted them a part of His religion for all time." "Even if the words ['This do in remembrance of Me'] were used, they were spoken simply to the disciples then present, and there is nothing to suggest their application to the followers of Christ for all time."

In the second Lecture, speaking of the early Christian views of the Bible, Dr Drummond attempts to show that though Jesus did not, like Marcion, out of repugnance to some portions of its teaching, place Himself in revolutionary antagonism to it, yet He felt that the presence and operation of God in the making of the Old Testament "were no guarantee of its infallibility, for they were

seen through the dimness of human vision, and the divine message was expressed through the halting forms of human speech. Discrimination was necessary."

Alluding to the modern position with regard to the Bible (Lect. iii.), whether it be Old or New Testament, Dr Drummond says, "The ground on which men thought they stood has vanished beneath their feet, and the value of the Bible as a mere external authority is gone, for we can no longer assume that a statement is true simply because it is between the covers of the venerable book." Yet, on his own confession, men crave the support of some authority; all but the very strongest souls seek the support of something that lies outside their own feeble, partial, and isolated lives. But where does such an authority lie? Dr Drummond would appear to regard the religious instinct of the individual as the final test of truth. "The highest authority is found when truths come straight to the soul, and receive that inward response without which religious truth is dead and useless."

All which may be very true; but if this is the only guide, it is an uncertain guide, and one which has led men into every kind of error. Dr Drummond says in one place, pertinently enough, "It may be true that the pure in heart shall see God," but it is lack of this very purity in heart which makes external authority a necessity for us. It is because we cannot see God that we require someone or something to tell us, authoritatively, what He is. In this we have the weak point in the system to which he adheres—that it fails to give the soul that external, yet elevating and certain, authority which we who believe in the Godhead of Jesus Christ possess in His words.

But here we may make an end of Dr Drummond's negative positions. From Lecture iv. onwards we have far more positive teaching. In Lecture iv. there are some admirable passages, and for Lectures vi. and vii., which deal with Christian Ethics, we have nothing but praise. On the one hand, they cannot but be inspiring (as also a passage on pp. 36, 37) to all ministers of religion, and on the other hand, they must compel all of us to ask whether after all we do not need to re-echo the words of St Ignatius, "Let us learn to live according to Christianity!"

Lecture viii. is perhaps the most disappointing in the book, and it is here that the influence of the school to which Dr Drummond belongs becomes most felt. He discusses the "Motive power of Christianity," and finds it in three things. Firstly, in 'the power of ideas': "It cannot be denied that ideas themselves, when embraced with hearty faith, possess a life-giving efficacy, and he who discovers or enforces some great spiritual truth, and makes it a reality within the minds of men, stands in the front rank of the world's bene-

factors." Secondly, in 'the power of Christ's personality': "It may be said, we might have an historical interest in the Founder of Christianity; but if we had never heard of Him, the truth which He announced would remain, and our religion would be uninjured. . . . I would speak with all respect of this view, and not call in question for a moment the genuine Christianity of those who hold it; for we all have imperfect experience and imperfect thoughts, and the defect is now on this side and now on that. Nevertheless I am sure that the great mass of believers would feel that it gave a very inadequate account, I do not say of ecclesiastical dogmas, which have been handed down for centuries, and do not always correspond to the present state of living conviction, but of what passed in their own souls when Christianity first took possession of them, and gave shape and colour to their lives, or of what has remained with them as its unrivalled and unique power. To them Christianity without Christ would be something fundamentally different from that by which they have lived." Thirdly, in the 'power of the Church as a community': "Into the brotherhood of seeking and consecrated souls a man may enter, and find the strength of holy association, and the uplifting power of heavenward thought and purpose . . . and in cutting themselves off from religious communion with their fellows, men not only kill a natural yearning of the Christian heart, but separate themselves from a source of inward life and power."

With all this we heartily agree. Nevertheless we ask, "What lack we yet?" It is the knowledge of the true divinity of our Lord. Jesus Christ is undoubtedly a magnificent example, but if He is not Divine, His example chills rather than inspires us. We love His gentleness, His purity, His perfect humanity, but if He is only human we feel that He is too far above us. We cannot reach the height of His holiness—and discouraged we faint. No: what we want is a love that is mighty to save—mighty because by reason of its Godhead—it carries a power with it that is more than human and stronger than death. Here is the weakness of Dr Drummond's book. But in spite of the defect it is a book which all will do well to read, and in which all will find, and cannot but find, much that is fresh, much that is inspiring. Dr Drummond dedicates the Lectures "to all of every name and church who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." To such we too can commend a volume which, though open to serious criticism, has been helpful to ourselves.

F. B. AMBROSE WILLIAMS.

**Gesammelte Aufsätze.**

*Von Albrecht Ritschl. Freiburg und Leipzig. Pp. 247.  
Large 8vo. Price, M.6.*

THE essays included in this volume have, with one exception—that on “Hengstenberg and the Union”—already appeared in theological periodicals, and are now collected under the careful supervision of Ritschl’s son and biographer for the benefit of a wider class of readers. It had long been in the mind of Ritschl himself to make a collection of his more important papers; but this project, owing to the pressure of other duties, had never been carried out. Even now it is only a selection from his essays that is given, and the editor explains in the preface the principle on which the choice has been made. Ritschl’s views on theological subjects are by this time tolerably well known; it therefore seemed desirable to give the preference to essays bearing on his doctrine of the Church, which is less generally understood, and is only partially unfolded in his great work on “Justification and Reconciliation.” The principal portion of the present volume, accordingly, consists of two weighty essays on the right conception of the Church—the first on “The Notion of Visible and Invisible Church,” and the second on “The Foundation of Church Law in the Evangelical Notion of the Church”; and of two historical essays on “The Origin of the Lutheran Church.” With these are connected a number of other papers—one, going back to 1851, on “The Present State of the Criticism of the Synoptical Gospels”; another, the unprinted paper on Hengstenberg above referred to; a third, on “The Method of the older History of Dogma”; and a fourth, on “The Two Principles of Protestantism” (the so-called formal and material).

The volume thus contains eight essays, necessarily of varying interest and value, but none of them without importance, if only as marking stages in Ritschl’s own mental development. The essay on Synoptical Criticism belongs to a period when Ritschl was yet an adherent of the school of Baur, but is marked by characteristic independence. Though reflecting a stage of controversy already more than forty years old, and in this sense pretty obsolete, it abounds in acute remarks and criticisms which time has justified. In view of the recent discovery of the “Gospel of Peter,” one reads with curiosity Ritschl’s elaborate refutation of Hilgenfield’s hypothesis that this apocryphal Gospel was the basis of our canonical Mark. Ritschl struck out for the originality and independence of Mark, at a time when this view had few advocates; and for the rest holds Matthew to be dependent on Mark, and Luke to be dependent on both the

others. The really important part of the volume, however, lies, as above observed, in the discussions on the idea of the Church. Ritschl strenuously holds that the idea of the Church, like every other part of the Protestant system, must be re-shaped in the light of the Evangelical principle. He lays great stress on a right apprehension of the distinction of the visible and the invisible Church—contesting, both from the historical and from the doctrinal point of view, current conceptions on this subject,—and in a second essay shows the application of his principles to Church office, and the reciprocal rights of clergy and laity (Kirchenrecht). The discussion on the visible and the invisible Church will be found on pp. 68-100, and again, in the second essay, on pp. 109-113. Ritschl first, after his manner, carefully investigates the meaning of this distinction in Zwingle (in whom it is first found, but who is shown to be dependent for his fundamental idea on Huss), in Luther and Melancthon, in Calvin, &c. He rejects the Zwinglian and Calvinistic view, which identifies the “invisible” Church with the whole body of the elect, known only to God, and attaches himself to the doctrine of Luther, whose distinction of a *spiritual and inward*, and a *bodily and outward* Christianity, he affirms to have nothing to do with the ordinary conception of invisible and visible. He argues that for the Evangelical conception of the Church nothing is more important than the right distinction and proper inter-relating of the dogmatic, the ethical, and the political marks of the Church. In the Catholic view, all other marks of the Church are submerged in the “political” (outward polity). In distinction from this, the Reformers laid stress on the “dogmatic” marks of the Church,—the Church as the fellowship of saints is recognised by the preaching of the Gospel and the pure administration of the sacraments. Yet more in accordance with the Evangelical principle is the conception of the Church as an “ethical” community, within which there is to be recognised the possibility and right of distinct confessional standpoints. This Ritschl takes to be the real outcome of Luther’s teaching, and of the spirit of the Protestant confessions, and in harmony with it he draws his distinction of a visible and invisible Church. It is one and the same body—outwardly recognisable by Word and Sacrament—to which both of these predicates apply, only that it is viewed in a distinct relation under each. In its empirical historical existence (Sein), it is visible; as a moral growth and development (Werden), it is invisible. More precisely, as an object of sense, the Church is visible; but in its *essential* nature as a Divine institution, embodying Divine factors (Gospel and Sacraments), and existing to realise a Divine ideal, it is not an object of sense, but properly an object of “faith,” and so is invisible. In strictness, it is faith alone which can apprehend it as *the Church*, even in its visible capacity. The Church, therefore, has an

empirical or visible side, but has likewise an ideal or invisible side, and the predicate "invisible" belongs to it through a "determination of worth" proceeding from faith—the organ by which we apprehend "things not seen" (Heb. xi. 1). We are not convinced that Ritschl has succeeded in disproving the truth or scripturalness of the usual distinction, but his able and searching discussion well deserves consideration. The remaining papers in the volume, the subjects of which have been indicated above, must be passed over without further remark.

JAMES ORR.

### **The Meeting-Place of Geology and History.**

*By Sir J. William Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S. London: Religious Tract Society. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo, pp. 223. Price, 5s.*

THIS book discusses the problems presented by the earliest traces of Man, and gives a picture of that strange shadowland where geological research begins to blend with tradition and archæology. This region is intensely interesting because of the light it throws on the questions of Man's Origin, Antiquity, and Primitive Condition, and few are better fitted to discuss these difficulties than the author.

After a brief outline of the World's history before Man, he enters upon the question of the Antiquity of our race, and gives it as his opinion that Man has not inhabited the Earth for more than 7000 years. Looking to the phenomena of river-gorges, such as the gorge of the Niagara, which has been entirely cut in Post-Glacial times, and are reckoned to be from 7000 to 8000 years old, he infers a very moderate antiquity for the human race. But the question of Tertiary Man comes in here, and Sir J. W. Dawson discusses the evidences of Man's presence in the Miocene and Pliocene eras, and he declares that although there is no proof that Man lived in the former of these epochs, there would be nothing opposed to the Bible in the idea that he then existed. Now, no living geologist would place the Miocene Epoch at a period less removed from the present time than half a million of years, and how this opinion of Man's existence at that time can be reconciled with *any* scheme of Biblical chronology we cannot understand. The signs of Man's presence in this geological era are only a few minute fragments of flint, which are found in France and Spain, and which it is not possible to suppose were made by Man. In the Pliocene Period, which immediately follows, the evidences of Man's existence are much stronger, for here, for the first time, we find

human bones. In Italy skulls and skeletons have been discovered, and at Castelnedolo, near Brescia, several skeletons were discovered, which, it has been asserted, belonged to men who were *shipwrecked* in the Pliocene Period! If Man, a quarter of a million of years ago, was already a *navigator* on the sea, then Evolutionists may at once abandon all hope of gaining any support for the theory of the ape-origin of Man from geology; it is, however, very likely that the Castenedolo skeletons belong to later times.

It has been supposed that Man existed in Europe and in America during the early days of the Glacial Period, and in the time of the great Ice-Sheets; but Sir J. W. Dawson rejects this view, and considers that the so-called implements in the North American glacial gravels belong to a comparatively recent period. He believes that the first certain traces of Man occur just after the close of the Glacial Period, when large portions of Europe rose out of the waters of the icy sea. Archæologists have divided the Prehistoric Period of the Stone Age into two great divisions, from the character of the weapons then used by Man. The oldest of these has been called the Palæolithic Age, because at that time Man used only rough stone weapons, which were never ground nor polished; and the later of the eras has been termed the Neolithic Period, for then Man's stone weapons were carefully ground and polished. Sir J. W. Dawson rejects these terms, because he says that rough stone and polished stone weapons are often found together, and he substitutes Palanthropic for Palæolithic, and Neanthropic for Neolithic. We do not see any reason to discard the use of the old words, for the two periods are marked not merely by a difference in *human weapons*, but by a still more marked difference in the *animals* that then existed. Thus in the Palæolithic Period we find elephants, lions, rhinoceroses, and hippopotamuses, but these all completely disappear when we enter the Neolithic Period. The distinction between the characters of the stone weapons in these two epochs is of little consequence, but difference in the faunas is of the greatest importance. Thus the Palæolithic Era is the Period of the Stone Age, when the great extinct mammalia lived in Europe, and the Neolithic Era is the period in which they no longer existed.

The description which Sir J. W. Dawson gives of the Palæolithic (or as he calls it) the Palanthropic Period of Western Europe, is certainly the most valuable portion of his book. The Palæolithic Age was a time of great mountains, dense forests, and mighty rivers. The land in Western Europe stretched much further west than now, and England was united to France and Denmark. The mammoth, elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus ranged the lowlands; lions, hyænas, and bears filled the woods; and reindeer and musk-oxen peopled the uplands. Man existed in considerable numbers, and, it

has been supposed, formed at that time three distinct races. The first is the race of Cannstadt, the men of which were rough, brutal, and savage, and of comparatively short stature; to this race belong the skulls of Eguisheim, Spy, and Neanderthal. It has been thought that this race was the oldest of the three, but there is no proof of this, and the skulls from Engis and Solutr —which belong to the race of Cro-Magnon—are at least as old as any relics of the men of Cannstadt. The skulls belonging to the Cannstadt men are long, with very low retreating foreheads, and with but small cranial capacity, and owing to these features many naturalists have thought that they approximate towards the skulls of apes, and favour the theory of the simian characteristics of the earliest men. But this idea utterly breaks down when we discover that amongst the clever and cultured mound builders in North America, skulls have been found exactly like those of the Cannstadt men in shape, and of even smaller cranial capacity. The second of the Pal olithic races has been termed the Cro-Magnon race, and its remains are abundant in Central France, in Belgium, and in Northern Italy. The men of this race were of great height—often over seven feet—of immense strength, and fine mental power, for their cranial capacity was greater than that of the average modern European. They dressed in skins, painted their faces, domesticated the horse; and used weapons of stone and of polished bone. They were artists also of great skill, for they engraved figures of animals, and even of men, on bits of slate, and on fragments of ivory and of reindeer horn. The dead were carefully buried, the weapons being interred with the deceased, showing that the men of those ancient days, had a belief in immortality, and probably also in the existence of a Supreme Being. Such was the Cro-Magnon race, and the gigantic warriors belonging to it might well be termed “mighty men of renown.” The third of the Pal olithic races, has been called the Truch re Race, but, as it is founded upon one skull only, it is rather early to consider that there was a definite race bearing the characteristics of the skull, and as distinct and well defined as the races of Cannstadt and Cro-Magnon. Having described the men and animals of the Pal olithic, or Palanthropic Age, Dr Dawson passes on to consider the great catastrophe which brought this period to a close. We are here—at the close of the Pal olithic Period—face to face with four striking facts. *First*, the sudden and complete disappearance of the great beasts of the Pal olithic Period, which vanished completely at the close of the earliest stone age, for not a trace of any of them can be found in the period which immediately follows. *Secondly*, the fact that the remains of these animals are heaped together in great masses, young and old, carnivorous and herbivorous being promiscuously mingled. *Thirdly*,

the total disappearance of Palæolithic Man, and the complete gap which exists between him and his immediate successors in the Neolithic Period. *Fourthly*, the existence of enormous beds of sand, clay, and gravel, spread out in vast sheets, which were deposited at the same time, and which indicate the power of tumultuous inundations. From all these facts Sir Henry Howorth, the Duke of Argyll and others have maintained that a tremendous inundation or series of inundations took place at the close of the Palæolithic Period. This gap is as pronounced in America as it is in Europe, for the earliest men in North America disappear at the close of the Palæolithic Age, and all efforts to identify them with the present Eskimo, are perfectly useless. Dr Dawson thoroughly admits the occurrence of this great diluvial catastrophe, which closed the Palæolithic Age, and he declares that it was owing to a general subsidence of the land in Western Europe, which took place less than 6000 years ago.

The Neolithic Period (Neanthropic of our author) followed the the Palæolithic Period, but was quite of a different character. In Europe only the fauna known in the historical times existed, the elephant, lion, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, having quite disappeared. The men of the time were no longer tall, long-headed, and artistic, but were of medium height, round-headed and agricultural, they possessed strong affinities to the Iberians or to the Guanches of the Canary Islands.

We now come to the important question—How are these discoveries to be brought into harmony with the earlier portions of the Book of Genesis? Sir J. W. Dawson sets himself to the task of harmonising those parts of the Sacred Record with the recent results of geology. He first maintains that the Palæolithic Age in Western Europe is the Antediluvian Period in Genesis, and in this he follows Sir Henry Howorth. The three great races of the Palæolithic Period he arranges as follows:—The Cannstadt Race signifies the ancient Cainites, rough, low, and brutal; the Truchère Race, he thinks, belongs to the descendants of Seth, who were only just on the verge of Europe; as to the mighty Cro-Magnon Race, he considers that they were the “giants” of the Book of Genesis, and that they formerly inhabited the lost Atlantis which existed in the Western Ocean, and were driven eastwards as those old lands slowly sank beneath the waves. Of course these identifications are purely hypothetical, especially as the existence of the Truchère Race is so doubtful, but the enormous size and vast strength of the Cro-Magnon people, who are supposed by our author to have been a mixed race, sprung from the union of the Cannstadt and Truchère Races—supports the idea that they were the Giants of the Book of Genesis. The Noachian Deluge is considered by Dr Dawson to be

the great diluvial catastrophe which closed the Palæolithic Period, and which is so strongly evidenced by geological investigations in Europe, America, and in Siberia. The Neolithic Age represents the early portions of the Postdiluvian Period, when the descendants of Noah spread over the earth and became the Neolithic (Neanthropic) tribes. The account given by Dr Dawson of Prehistoric Egypt and Syria is most interesting, and the discoveries in the Lebanon caverns show that, before Noah's Flood, the rhinoceros and reindeer lived in Syria. Egypt was in those days a beautifully-wooded country, while the sea ran up for a long distance between the two bordering ranges of limestone hills which enclose the valley of the Nile.

We have not space to follow Sir J. W. Dawson in his speculations on the situation of the Garden of Eden, and in the outline which he gives of the Postdiluvian dispersion. These topics have been frequently discussed, and belong to the province of Biblical Criticism as well as to that of archaeological investigation.

The book is not a large one, and argument consequently is put briefly. But the Bible Student will find much to interest him in it.

D. GATH WHITLEY.

### **Morality and Religion.**

*Being the Kerr Lectures for 1893-4. By Rev. James Kidd, D.D.  
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 464. Price, 10s. 6d.*

IN discoursing of the distinction and connection of morality and religion, Mr Kidd has returned to a theme which may be said to have been classic since Kant and Schleiermacher. Certain of his discussions might indeed have been spared or abridged in order to make room for a history of its treatment in the modern schools of philosophy and theology. A German writer would have considered it an elementary duty to furnish such a critico-historical sketch, and would thereby have materially assisted the reader to grasp his own positions and to appreciate their distinctive significance. It was also well worth while, on general grounds, to write this interesting chapter of modern thought—starting with the great triangular conflict at the end of last century, in which, as against the ecclesiastical tradition, rationalism merged religion in morality, while romanticism detached it from both creed and conduct; thence advancing to examine the Hegelian apology for religion as the complement of morality, and its rejection by the English Empiricists as useless or pernicious; and finally going on to judge of the contributions made to the elucidation of the question by the vigorous

modern disciplines of the Philosophy of Religion and Christian Ethics. But while there is reason to complain that the lecturer has not sufficiently filled in the historical background of his argument, it must be heartily acknowledged that he has contributed a thoughtful, able, and useful book on a subject which continues to gain rather than lose in practical importance. For there is again the same need felt which roused Schleiermacher to assert the claims of religion upon "the cultured among the despisers thereof;" and if these lectures lack the eloquence and vehemence which immortalise the "Reden über die Religion," they at least similarly vindicate the sovereign dignity of religion, and expose the shallowness and the peril of an ethical culture which has lost the vision of God.

The determination of the relationship subsisting between religion and morality, announced as the object of the book before us, proceeds on the following lines:—(1) An examination of the nature and implications of morality; (2) a similar analysis of religion; (3) an exposition of their mutual relations; (4) the verification of the results by comparison with the testimony of Christ. The plan is certainly comprehensive; and as worked out it issues in an apologetical treatise, which is at the same time a collection of well-informed and suggestive essays on Moral Philosophy, the Philosophy of Religion, Comparative Religion and the Biblical Theology of the Gospels. That at times the general argument, owing to the independent interest of these branches of Theology, disappears below the horizon, is as easily excused as explained. It would be a serious task to follow the lecturer through this wide region of philosophy and theology, and it will be sufficient to indicate the heads of the various arguments most closely relevant to the main purpose of differentiating and relating the spiritual phenomena under discussion. The essay on Ethics, containing chapters on "Conduct and Motive" and "The Moral Ideal," yields three main propositions bearing on the matter in hand—firstly, that the object of morality is "the action of a rational being as such," more precisely, our self-determined attitudes and activities; secondly, that the moral ideal is the self-realisation of man as a being placed in a sphere of social relations; and thirdly, that the moral ideal, inexplicable and impracticable on the principles of naturalistic ethics, implies God alike as its source and as the condition of its actualisation. The next division furnishes a parallel analysis of religion, prefaced by a chapter on method, and concluding with an incursion into the region of the heathen religions—which, it may be added, are rapidly acquiring the same reputation as statistics. The general conclusions reached in the analysis which occupies itself with religion as exemplified in the perfect type of Christianity, may be summarised in the statements that the essence of religion is "reverence for the

Best and Highest known to us or conceivable by us," and that this sentiment by an inward necessity reveals, bodies itself forth in two characteristic forms—on the one hand in the adoration whose mother-tongue is worship, on the other in aspiration or a self-renouncing endeavour to grow in likeness to, and thus to enjoy and preserve communion with, the object of religious reverence. In the light, now, of these parallel analyses it would appear that very definite affirmations can be made as to the distinction and the connection of the subjects under review. As regards the distinction, morality appears as a manifestation of will, religion as an evolution from a sentiment or feeling; the end of morality is self-realisation, of religion communion with God. As regards the connection, morality has its spring in religion, while religion inevitably issues in morality. Taking first the distinctions, it must be said that Mr Kidd's argumentation undoubtedly connects itself with the theory which has grounded the distinction of religion and morality on a distinction of the faculties primarily associated with each—viz., feeling and will; for although he afterwards tones down the distinction of the inner states and activities with which they are associated to the distinction between self-surrender and self-determination, this is not consistent with the earlier treatment of "the religious sentiment," where reverence is defined as the essence of religion, and as "the spring and animating breath" of ritual and conduct, if not of creed. The temptingly easy hypothesis which Mr Kidd embraces in reality but afterwards renounces in appearance—the hypothesis that morality is in essence an affair of the will, religion of the feelings, is in truth not tenable, and must give way before the sounder psychology which teaches that, in both, thought, feeling and will are found in primitive union. The real distinction is to be sought, as Mr Kidd adds later on, in the difference of the objects or spheres of morality and religion, and of the ends contemplated in each. The solid distinction doubtless is that morality is concerned with our relations to the world, religion with our relations to God, and that the *summum bonum* of the former is of the nature of obedience to law, of the latter akin to friendship. In reference to the ends, it may be doubted, in passing, if the vague conception of self-realisation is the ultimate philosophical formula for the ethical ideal. In the third division mutual relations of morality and religion are drawn out at length on the lines indicated in the earlier analysis. First of all, the distinctions previously dwelt upon are shown to be relative, in fact to merge in a close connection, and in the succeeding discussion the nature of the connection is determined in the sense of the subordination of morality—"a subordination analogous to that between a member and the organism of which it forms a part." In the second chapter of this section we are taken on to

consider the possibility of the spiritual phenomena happily expressed by a recent German writer in his two headings—"Gut aber nicht fromm," "Fromm aber nicht gut"; and the conclusion reached, after an argument of sustained strength and lofty tone, is that in neither case is the isolation possible—that a genuine morality presupposes religion, and that a genuine religion must utter itself in morality. This third section, which deals at close quarters with the leading thesis, is indeed the best part of the book—combining, as it does, with ample evidence of independent speculative power, a mastery of the best thoughts that have been thrown out by recent masters who have laboured in the field. The concluding section is a less important contribution to the discussion, but has very considerable independent merit as a study of the teaching of Jesus, little hampered by the traditions of the discipline. So sound, indeed, is the criticism of the accepted treatment of the subject-matter which subjects it to the category of the Kingdom of God, and so good some of the detail, that it is to be hoped Mr Kidd will return to Biblical Theology in another capacity than that of the raiding apologist.

From this general outline we may now briefly turn to the more distinctive positions of the lectures, which, while not the most valuable portions, are of considerable interest. As such we may fairly regard the fundamental position assigned to reverence, and the conception of the mode in which religion creates a moral dynamic. In reference to the former of these doctrines, it has already been stated that, in Mr Kidd's analysis, reverence appears as the germ which, by the grace of God, unfolds into worship and the other religious phenomena. In it there lies the promise and the potency of the various developments of subjective and objective religion. Now, while reverence is doubtless a sweet and saintly grace, the time seems to have come to protest against the exaggerated honours which are being heaped upon it. Since the publication of *Wilhelm Meister*, we have so often heard that we almost believe the statement, that reverence is the truth of all the positive religions, which differ only according as they revere what is above us, around us, or beneath us. By modern ministers reverence is commended and extolled before the congregation until an impression is created that it marks the summit of Christian attainment. And now we have Mr. Kidd's argument that it is not only the omega but the alpha of religion—not only "the sea to which it goes" but also "the hills from which it flows." In general it may be observed that the importance recently attached to this grace is unwarranted and pernicious, and in particular that it does not occupy that fundamental position, as "spring and animating breath," which is here assigned to it. Tested by the facts of Christianity, it appears that it is not primary,

but a secondary result of the cardinal, and most truly characteristic religious act, known as faith. Experience shows that reverence is commonly absent, or so weak as to be negligible until, by the sovereign act of faith, the soul passes into a filial relationship with God; and it is only at a later stage, and as a result of the vitality and power of faith, that it comes to play any important part in colouring the character and in moulding conduct. At the very most it could only be conceded that reverence is part of the emotional side of faith, and as such it is by no means the most important part of that whole-souled spiritual act in which man has in all religions cast himself upon his God for protection, help and life.

The second important position which may be referred to is the account given of the special conditions under which religion issues in morality. That a pious man is a good man, that justification is followed by sanctification, is of course axiomatic in theology. As to the conditions, however, under which the root of piety bears the fruits of righteousness, there is room for difference of opinion. It is not sufficient to say that under Christianity the pious man is a good man because he has been born a new creature, and because the Spirit of God dwelleth in him. From Paul downwards it has been seen that the divine influences work in and through definite human springs of conduct; and it is in his conception of the subjective link between piety and righteousness that Mr Kidd has emphasised a comparatively neglected factor. His characteristic contribution to the doctrine of the Christian dynamic is that reverence involves desire of imitation, and that religious reverence necessarily issues in a desire to become like Him who has moved us by His excellence. "Having seen and acknowledged our ideal, we cannot help feeling a desire to rise towards it. . . . On this side, if anywhere, a connection between religion and morality will be discovered." The factor thus emphasised is certainly important. The oldest religious usages, according to a writer quoted with approval by Pfleiderer, were "acts which imitate the doings of the higher powers;" the view further has support in the sayings of Jesus, which propose the example of God to the disciples, and in Paul's exhortation to be imitators of God; and it has moreover been powerfully operative in Christendom. But the desire to become like the object of religious reverence is not to be emphasised as the exclusive, or even the principal, factor in the dynamic furnished by Christianity. Within the sphere of Christian experience the impulse to holiness of life mainly springs, as Paul and Luther saw, from a sense of gratitude for the unmerited blessings bestowed by God upon His unworthy creatures; and this view of the pre-eminent importance of gratitude as the spring of

sanctification is confirmed by the observation that works of Christian beneficence are commonly motived by the phrase "for Christ's sake." It is less the desire to imitate God than gratitude for what He has done, along with the hope of what through Him shall yet be, that explains how piety has produced its plenteous harvest of integrity and philanthropy.

Reference to what are taken to be distinctive doctrines of the lectures has entailed the disadvantage of so far diverting attention from the great wealth of material which they contain, and the value of the general argument, which is in fact sustained by remarkable analytical power and fulness of thought. The vigour to which the style, sometimes too hurried and diffuse, can attain, may be illustrated by the sentences in which the writer embodies his capital conclusions. "Divorced from morality, religion will become a sickly sentimentalism, or a fitful superstition, from which keen healthy virile natures will turn with contempt as a caricature or a delusion. Divorced from religion, morality will become a calculating prudence whose only principle is self-interest, or a fickle expediency, which will debase instead of elevating men." W. P. PATERSON.

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### **The Psalter, with a Concordance and other Auxiliary Matter.**

*London : John Murray, 1895. 32mo, pp. 260. Price 3s. 6d.*

THIS dainty booklet challenges attention before the reader has formed acquaintance with its contents or read so much as the title-page. For the lettering on the flexible binding informs him that within is to be found "The Psalter, with Concordance, &c., by W. E. Gladstone." Anything from the pen of that venerable Nestor of British statesmanship has a claim upon our respectful regard not to be set aside. As the seven volumes of his "Gleanings" amply testify, Mr Gladstone has, all through his busy life, found diversion and recreation in widely apart fields of literature, scholarship, and the fine arts. Among these fields the Biblical and Theological are known to have a fascination for his versatile genius not surpassed if even equalled by any others. The author of "The State in its Relations with the Church," whom Lord Macaulay described, when that work appeared in 1839, as "a young man of unblemished character, and of distinguished parliamentary talents, the rising hope of stern and unbending Tories," might have been Primate of the Church of England had not politics claimed him and then rewarded him for his splendid devotion to her service by making him Prime Minister of State.

When, therefore, we find the retired Leader of the House of Commons and of the Liberal party throughout the country devoting a portion of his leisure to editing an edition of the English Psalter and furnishing it with auxiliary matter, we do not think of him as breaking ground in a fresh field, rather do we regard him as falling back upon earlier studies which have never for him parted with their charm. And this view of Mr Gladstone, as he sends forth from Hawarden Castle "a book of private devotion," finds confirmation in the closing paragraph of his briefly worded preface, in which paragraph he states that the Concordance, which is the *adminiculum* of greatest bulk, was executed "nearly half a century ago," executed, that is to say, when Macaulay's young man was "rising to eminence in the House of Commons," and shortly after his appearance as an author, if not an authority, upon Church and State Relations.

The auxiliary matter supplied by Mr Gladstone for this separate issue of the Prayer-book prose version of the Psalms consists of (1) Headings for the several Psalms ; (2) Subjects specially touched in particular passages of the Psalms ; (3) Psalms and Psalm Extracts ; (4) Psalms specially appropriated to ordinary and occasional services ; (5) Alternative Renderings ; (6) A Concordance of 1st, Proper Names ; 2nd, Ordinary Words. Of these six groups of editorial matter nothing but what is favourable falls to be said. Each section is interesting and suggestive, although no one department is exhaustively treated or displays any striking originality of conception or of treatment.

The one desideratum a survey of the contents suggests is some information regarding the Psalter itself, the position it holds among English Versions of Scripture, its literary peculiarities, and its claims to a place of permanence in the literature of our country.

The editor's explanation of the absence of information bearing on these points would probably be that any treatment of them, however brief, would be out of place in a small volume intended for private devotional use. It may, however, be permitted us to supply in a few sentences what is wanting, and what in our judgment would, if furnished, have enhanced the value and interest of a publication which, on editorial grounds alone, will always have attraction for book fanciers and book collectors.

The rendering of the Psalter used in the Church of England Book of Common Prayer, and here reprinted separately, is *not* that of 1611. While by far the greater number of Scripture quotations in the Prayer-book are taken from "the King's Bible," or Authorised Version, the Psalter and the Scripture passages employed in the office of Holy Communion are derived from an older English translation. That translation was, on its first appearance in 1539, called

"The Great Bible," on account of its bulky dimensions and appearance; and when, in 1540, it appeared with a lengthy prologue by Cranmer, it came to be known as "Cranmer's Bible." But this Bible was only a revised version of Coverdale's translation made and published in 1535. Now one peculiarity of Coverdale's translation is that it is not and does not profess to be made from the original Hebrew and Greek. It is only a secondary version, a translation of other translations. On the title-page of the one perfect copy in the Earl of Leicester's library at Holkham it is honestly declared to be—"Biblia—The Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe. M.D.XXXV." From this it will be seen that, whatever excellences the Prayer-book Psalter may possess, it is wholly destitute of exegetical or critical value. No scholar thinks of referring to Coverdale's Bible in connection with a disputed reading or a doubtful rendering; no exegete seeks to strengthen his interpretation of a knotty passage with a quotation from the Prayer-book prose version.

When it is enquired how it came about that, while other portions of Scripture in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer—with the exception of those in the Communion service—were taken from the Authorised Version of 1611 at the latest Prayer-book revision in 1661, the old Psalter was not altered, but remained as in 1535, the only explanation seems to be that cathedral and parish church choirs had grown accustomed to the older version, the language of which was smoother, and so better adapted for chanting than that of later date.

The retention of this sixteenth century version is, however, attended with drawbacks. For some of the words occurring in it have become obsolete, while others have acquired a significance different from the earlier one. Instances of obsolete words are to be found in "Tush," "knappeth," "good-luck," "vamping," "shawms"; for illustration of a word of changed signification there may be given the use of the vocable "namely" in such a verse as, "Namely, while they say daily unto me, Where is now thy God?" in which verse "namely" has the force of particularly, specially.

Then, as might be expected in the case of a version devoid of scholastic value, the Prayer-book Psalter betrays great weakness and considerable caprice in its rendering of tenses. Thus, the plaintive prayer in the seventh and eighth verses of the fifty-first Psalm is set aside in favour of this weak series of affirmations:—"Thou shalt purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Thou shalt make me hear of joy and gladness: that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice."

Again, some of the renderings in the Psalter translation, although

not positively erroneous, are quaint, grotesque, and not without a suggestion of the ludicrous out of place in a book intended for modern private devotions. It is so in the case of this rendering of the sixth verse of the sixty-eighth Psalm, which we give in the original spelling—"He is the God that maketh men to be of one mynde in a house, and bryngeth the presoners out of captiuitie in due season, but letteth the rennagates continue in scarcenesse;" and also in this of the sixth verse of the seventy-second: "He shall come down like the rain into a fiese of woll, even as the droppes that water the earth."

What is there, then, in this old version of the Psalter to counter-balance such peculiarities and blemishes, and to evoke the loving regard and admiration of its most recent editor? Mr Gladstone himself suggests the answer when, in the course of his preface, he affirms of the Psalter text as it stands in his Prayer-book—"it is of incomparable beauty." This beauty shines forth alike in sentences and in phrases, the felicity and the cadence of which fill the ear and haunt the memory of even illiterate and unmusical souls. Of entire verses, apt and melodious in rendering, two are probably known to most of our readers. One is the rendering of the last verse of Psalm twenty-seven, "O tarry thou the Lord's leisure: be strong, and He shall comfort thine heart; and put thou thy trust in the Lord." Was it the first sentence in this translation that suggested to Toplady two lines in his hymn beginning, "Your harps, ye trembling saints"—lines that form the opening of verse sixth, a verse which, by a singular conspiracy of editorial ineptitude, has been omitted from every Presbyterian hymnal of modern compiling, but which runs thus:—

*"Tarry His leisure then,  
Although He seem to stay;  
A moment's intercourse with Him,  
Thy grief will overpay?"*

The other verse is to be found in the ninety-sixth Psalm, where the tenth verse has for rendering, "Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King: and that it is He who hath made the round world so fast that it cannot be moved; and how that he shall judge the people righteously." Here the opening summons has been skilfully appropriated by Miss Havergal in her spirited missionary hymn or anthem, "Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King! Tell it out! Tell it out!"

It would be easy to place alongside of these two other verse-renderings in no way inferior to them in beauty. Exhausted space, however, does not admit of our doing more than simply directing attention to Psalms xviii. 30; xix. 7; xxxiii. 19; lxix. 5; lxxi. 18; lxxx. 1; and cvi. 24.

Then Coverdale's Psalter is as rich in phrases of felicity and melody as it is in sentences of rhythmic flow and fulness. The version of 1611 enriched its pages with a large number of these, but over and above what has found a place there the reader of the old Psalter will come upon such felicities of wording as, "The patient abiding of the meek," "the needful time of trouble," "the nethermost hell," "the waters of comfort," "the fair beauty of the Lord," "the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners," "the great water-floods," "a man full of words."

Taking all that has been advanced into account, it may safely be predicted that Coverdale's Psalter will never become wholly obsolete, although it is of no value to the scholar, and contains a considerable amount of antiquated phraseology. Associated with its intrinsic merits as a manual of devotion there will ever after this be the charm of a name which his countrymen will not suffer to die out of grateful remembrance—that of its loving and painstaking elucidator, William Ewart Gladstone.

C. G. M'CRIE.

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**Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch nach den Idiomen des palästinischen Talmud und Midrasch, des Onkelostargum (Cod. Socini 84) und der jerusalemischen Targume zum Pentateuch.**

*Von Gustaf Dalman. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. xii. 348. Price, M.12.*

ALL who have roamed in the wilderness of Jewish-Aramaic forms, as exhibited in Talmud, Midrash and Targum, will welcome the appearance of Herr Dalman's careful and scientific grammar. As its title indicates, the book is limited to Jewish *Palestinian* Aramaic, leaving out of account meanwhile the *Babylonian* dialect (which belongs not to *Western*, but to *Eastern* Aramaic) employed in the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, and in other productions of the Babylonian school, such as the decisions of the Doctors (*Geonim*). Within the field of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic there are in the main two dialects to be distinguished—(1) *Judean*, fairly well represented to us (though much affected by Hebrew) (*a*) in an older stage (third and second centuries B.C.) by the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra, and (*b*) in a later stage by two Targums, the so-called Onkelos on the Pentateuch and so-called Jonathan on the Prophets, which, though almost certainly first written down at Babylon not earlier than the fifth century A.D., have nevertheless largely conserved the linguistic features they had acquired during centuries of oral use in Palestine.

(2) *Galilean*, the dialect employed by the learned of Tiberias, Caesarea and other Galilean schools from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D., of which the greatest monument is the Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud. It is interesting to note that Dalman has shown, by a careful comparison of words and forms (see the list on pp. 34-40), that this Galilean dialect is most nearly akin to the *Christian* Palestinian Aramaic, of which the grammar was written by Nöldeke in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxii. pp. 443-527, and the extant literature has been published by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo, Lagarde, and others (Wright's *Syriac Literature*, p. 17 *f.*). The *Samaritan* dialect, which does not fall within the scope of Dalman's work, occupies a middle place between Judean and Galilean. Lastly, must be mentioned the mixture of the Judean and Galilean dialects that characterises the so-called Jerusalem (really Palestinian) Targums, which, in Dalman's view, are much later than the works above mentioned. It should be observed that, in dealing with the Targums, Babylonian and Palestinian alike, he confines himself in the main to those on the Pentateuch (Onkelos and Yerushalmi), putting aside for convenience sake those on the Prophets and Hagiographa.

The distinguishing merit of Dalman's method is the *separation*, for grammatical purposes, of Jewish works which betray diversity of origin by difference of linguistic features. That this may be done effectively, references are given throughout for all but the most common words to the works in which they occur, and the forms characteristic of the Judean, Galilean and mixed dialects are set side by side. This constitutes a great advance on the treatment of Jewish-Aramaic in the older grammars of Winer, Fürst, and Petermann, and almost rivals in thoroughness the work of Kautzsch within the narrower sphere of Biblical Aramaic. The method, of course, makes the grammar more cumbrous and difficult to read, but the practical gain for research is enormous. One can imagine how useful the book would have been in a recent controversy on the Aramaic original of the Gospels.

Another most important feature is the thoroughly scientific treatment of the vowels. Following the footsteps of Merx in his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Dalman has recognised the great importance to be attached to the testimony of the supralinear pointing of the Targums as exhibited in South Arabian MSS., and has used this pointing throughout the grammar (except in the paradigms, for a reason stated in the preface). But he has at the same time done justice to the Massoretic sublinear pointing of Biblical Aramaic (which he calls *Tiberian*, from the place of its origin), while he recognises the extent to which this has been affected by Hebraisation (as has also the supralinear, though to a less extent). Most interesting is

his comparison of these two systems on pp. 55-56 and elsewhere. A third guide in the matter of vocalisation he finds in the *matres lectionis*, or vowel-letters, so abundant in the later Hebrew and Aramaic dialects; and a fourth in the transliterations of Jewish-Aramaic words to be found in the LXX. and other Old Testament versions, in the New Testament and Josephus, in Jerome, and in Arabic writings—thus testifying to the pronunciation at four separate periods. These transliterations, which are so interesting and important in regard to the sounds not only of Aramaic but of ancient Hebrew, are made to do excellent service in the pages on pronunciation. With these aids at his command, our author is able to abandon any dependence on the ridiculous vocalisation of the ordinary Jewish MSS. and editions of the Targums—whose absurdity is shown, not only by its violation of the rules of Aramaic grammar, but by its continual inconsistency with itself.

Besides its thorough treatment of grammar, the book of course contains large contributions to our knowledge of the vocabulary of the Judean and Galilean dialects, in those respects in which they stand contrasted with one another. The general conclusion that one forms from the survey of grammar and vocabulary is that the Judean dialect is nearer Hebrew; while the Galilean—closely akin, as has been said, to the *Christian* Aramaic of Palestine—is nearer Syriac, whilst containing a number of words and some grammatical features peculiar to itself.

Of course important points still remain unsettled, such as the extent to which Hebrew grammar and vocabulary have affected the grammar and vocabulary of the Targums, making them unlike those of any spoken dialect. And in general we must remember that in most of the extant Jewish-Aramaic literature the dialect employed is a largely artificial "speech of the learned," not the normal language spoken by the people. On another subject—which bears on the history not merely of the language but of the exegesis and theology of the later Jews—the relative dates of the different Targums, the last word has not been said. Dalman is in favour of putting the literal and methodical Targum Onkelos much earlier than the somewhat irregular and uneven Jerusalem Targums on the Pentateuch, which he relegates to the seventh century A.D. But he does not seem to have disposed of the arguments adduced by Nöldeke (*Alttestamentliche Litteratur*, p. 256 f.), and especially by Buhl (*Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, Eng. trans., p. 173 f.), to show that the Jerusalem Targums contain at least some strata of an older period, whereas the Targum Onkelos "is rather a learned, and therefore a secondary work" (Buhl, *l.c.*). But on this very obscure subject our best hope of a solution lies in such careful scientific inquiry as Dalman carries out.

There is no language or dialect, not even ancient Hebrew or Greek, that has greater claims on Christian scholars than the Aramaic spoken by the Jews of Palestine at the opening of the Christian era. Hence our gratitude should be the greater to the author of this grammar, who has accumulated so much helpful material and cleared away so many difficulties.

NORMAN M'LEAN.

### **A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Lotze : the Doctrine of Thought.**

*By Henry Jones, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 8vo, pp. xiv. 375. Price 6s. net.*

THE appearance of Professor Jones's volume on the Philosophy of Lotze fulfils a natural expectation of those who have followed the course of recent philosophical discussion in this country. Lotze is in many respects the most serious of the critics of modern Idealism ; and his growing influence has made a "critical account" of his philosophy very desirable. His work demands the attention of idealists, not only because his philosophical attitude is one of deliberate antagonism to Hegelian idealism, but also because he has been deeply, though on the whole negatively, influenced by modern scientific points of view, and especially because he has played a vigorous, if somewhat critical, part in the development of scientific psychology.

Lotze's special importance, however, as a critic of Idealism, consists in the fact that he is not by any means a conventional Empiricist. He takes up an independent position, and joins himself to neither of the regular camps ; and, while he is thus independent of philosophical parties, he often appears to be no less independent of the human prejudice in favour of definite conclusions. He is thus a formidable, because an inaccessible assailant ; for, as Mr Jones says, "no camp can be burned till it is pitched somewhere, and no opponent can be overthrown till he takes up some position of his own" : it is certainly not easy to criticise a philosopher who actually glories, as Lotze seems to do, in the discovery and advertisement of a *cul de sac*.

His ponderous inconclusiveness is no doubt a weakness as well as a strength to Lotze. It gives an impression of intellectual paralysis, which must often alienate rather than convince serious students of philosophy. Lotze's work has neither the sweep and

unity which give charm to Hegel's thought, nor the deliberate and progressive, if somewhat parenthetic, accuracy of Kant's construction. Still it is probably the supremely critical quality of Lotze's writings which is chiefly responsible for their influence—an influence out of all proportion to the number of those who would regard themselves as his disciples. His very detachment from the movements of contemporary thought, and his almost cynical frankness about ultimate speculative solutions, give weight to that conservative tendency which, as Mr Jones suggests, has probably a good deal to do with Lotze's popularity.

This conservative or "orthodox" tendency of Lotze's work is not an aspect of it which Mr Jones desires to criticise or to traverse. He regards it as "a positive achievement for a philosopher to be 'orthodox,' provided his orthodoxy is philosophical. For he has not to invent the world of art, or morality, or religion, but to understand it." On the other hand, however, Mr Jones insists that philosophy must hold the common convictions of mankind "in a manner fundamentally different from the ordinary consciousness;" common sense, that is to say, and experience must be re-thought into a synthesis more complete than their own; and it is here that Lotze is found wanting; "for the mere critic is always dominated by an unconscious conservatism which only makes a show of passing its convictions through the crucible of doubt." This introduces the fundamental question for the critic of Lotze—the question whether his work is a real development of philosophy or a departure from its main tradition, and a sacrifice of its real function and only justification; and this is a question which it is all the more necessary to ask in Lotze's case, because his influence affects scientific even more than popular thought: all recent metaphysical discussion is affected, and some of it is considerably leavened by his teaching. While, however, his logical and metaphysical theories have been more or less explicitly canvassed in detail, yet, for the last ten years (with the exception of two suggestive articles in *Mind* by Mr Eastwood) little has been done in English in the way of criticising Lotze's fundamental positions and the grounds of his divergence from the idealist tradition.

Mr Jones's book, therefore, which has this for its main purpose, is most timely; and his discussion is as excellent as it is opportune. The book is meant for special students rather than for general readers; and only those who have a robust appetite for logical problems will be able to read, without flagging, the chapters on "The Theory of Judgment" and "Lotze's Doctrine of Inference and the Systematic Forms of Thought." To the serious student, however, the whole book cannot fail to be interesting. It is brilliantly and powerfully written; and, in Mr Jones's hands, Lotze himself forgets

to be dull ; while that very concentration of the argument upon certain main issues, which may limit the number of those to whom the book will appeal, is likely to seem one of the chief of its many merits to those who are interested in the problems which it discusses.

Mr Jones finds "the main watershed in modern philosophical theory" in the question whether thought is "receptive" or "constructive" ; and the present volume is mainly a criticism of Lotze's relation to this question. Lotze's aim was "to strike a middle path between the Scepticism which severs knowledge and reality, and the Idealism which seemed to him to identify them" ; and Mr Jones's criticism indicates that, in his search for this *via media*, Lotze oscillates between the view that thought "is formal and receptive, and its only work is that of reflection," and the view that it "is essentially constructive, the cause on account of which alone there can be either ideas or objects, or connections between them." This oscillation or transition from one view of thought to the other is traced by Mr Jones in Lotze's account of Conception and of Judgment, and in his passage from Subsumption to Substitution. In each of these cases Lotze is compelled, in the course of his attempt to explain knowledge, to advance from the formal conception of thought, with which he begins, to a recognition of its concrete, synthetic, or constructive character.

Lotze starts from "the assumption that the first datum of knowledge is the subjective state" ; but he finds this everywhere inadequate as an hypothesis for the explanation of knowledge ; and he is compelled to adopt various expedients in order to evade the difficulties which are created by this original assumption. He exalts the function of feeling and volition in relation to knowledge ; he finds in sense the whole content of experience, and contrasts its concreteness with the abstraction of thought ; and he makes the validity of knowledge depend ultimately upon an intuition which is itself resolvable into feeling. In pointing out the character and tendency of these expedients, Mr Jones develops a criticism of Lotze, which is chiefly an account of the way in which Lotze's pre-conceptions are modified by his attempt to explain knowledge. But this, which is a most satisfactory and objective method of criticism, is also determined throughout by a constructive system of philosophy, from which the criticism derives its chief interest. Mr Jones maintains that thought knows reality directly and at first hand. "The genuine object of thought . . . is *reality*, and reality, *pari passu*, with our knowledge of it, shows itself as ideal." Lotze's contrast between the concreteness of reality and the abstraction of thought represents a misleading conception of what thought is ; for real thought is essentially concrete ; and "the emptier a thought is . . . the less it is a *thought*." Abstraction is a departure from

real thought just as truly as from real things. The concreteness of reality is thus no ground for asserting its inaccessibility to thought; and, against all Lotze's attempts to explain our knowledge of reality independently of thought, Mr Jones insists that thought is involved in every stage of knowledge, and that the only reality of which we can say anything is reality understood as the object of thought. He shows that thought is essential both to the cognitive value of that Feeling, in which Lotze finds the beginning of knowledge, and to the existence of those Judgments of Value which reveal, for Lotze, the ultimate ground of truth and reality. Thus "neither thought nor feeling nor intuition can correct the error of Lotze's original assumption, namely, that knowledge begins with an inner world of subjective states, and then strives to find a way outwards." It is impossible, in fact, to supplement the cognitive work of thought, regarded as purely subjective, by referring to elements in conscious experience which are not thoughts; for these can give no information, and are quite irrelevant. If thought be limited to subjective states, then no way can ever be found of explaining how reality is known; and if thought be not thus confined, then sense, and reasoning, and judgments of worth are all functions of thought, or stages in the development of its constructive work. If the system of reality were not present in knowledge from the beginning, it could never be found in it in the end.

Mr Jones, then, finds Lotze's chief service to philosophy in his having deepened "that Idealism which he sought to overthrow," by showing indirectly "that thought and its data cannot . . . be set in direct antagonism to each other if knowledge is to be the issue of their interaction," and "that the only way to reach reality at the end of the process of thought is to take our departure from it."

The determination of thought by reality is the thesis of the concluding pages; and the prominence of this idea, which gives its "feeling" to his whole work, is one of the most interesting features of the constructive aspect of Mr Jones's criticism. He points out that Kant's criticism of experience leads to a conception of nature according to which "the conformity of cognition to objects is its conformity to objects which are themselves conceived as manifestations of an intelligent or spiritual principle," and that "from this point of view the Idealist may, not less than the Materialist, regard man as a natural product, and not less than the Associationist, regard mind as the recipient of truth, and its activities as governed by facts."

This determination of thought by reality is an aspect of idealistic doctrine which is not generally made prominent. There is indeed more than a suggestion of it in Mr Caird's writings; but it is seldom emphasised or stated so clearly as Mr Jones states it here. Its prominence is a most interesting feature of the present volume,

not only because it shows that Mr Jones is keenly alive to the perilous and unsatisfactory character of all "subjective" Idealism, but still more because it contains the promise of a fresh and vigorous development of philosophy. It must be admitted, indeed, that there is more of promise than of completed work in Mr Jones's trenchant proclamation of a "frankly realistic" Idealism. No doubt, to commit oneself to a rational system is "to commit reason to the charge of reason"; but it needs to be explained how thought, which is "the cause, on account of which alone there can be either ideas or objects, or connections between them," is at the same time "determined" by reality. Perhaps it may be suggested that the category of cause and effect is an inadequate clue to the relation of thought to reality. Such points of view must be left behind, if we are to understand "that knowledge is the self-revelation of reality in thought." But the elucidation of what he here only suggests is no doubt part of the further task which Mr Jones proposes to himself in his promise of "another volume dealing with Lotze's metaphysical doctrines." Readers of his present work will look forward with interest to the appearance of this second instalment of his criticism of Lotze; for it is not the least attractive feature of the volume now before us that it gives the impression that its author has a great deal more to say. Meantime, it will be generally recognised that Mr Jones has produced a criticism of Lotze's doctrine of thought which is conspicuous for speculative insight no less than for mastery of detail and vigorous workmanship.

Where there is so much to admire and praise, it is a thankless task to find fault; but it is impossible to abstain from suggesting that Mr Jones does injustice to his work by furnishing no clue to its contents. The volume contains neither an index, an adequate table of contents, nor headings for the individual pages. Perhaps Mr Jones desires that his criticism should be read altogether or not at all. But even those who have read it most carefully would have found it more accessible and useful if the author had taken the trouble to furnish them with the usual guidance.

CHARLES DOUGLAS.

### Isaiah One, and his Book One: An Essay and an Exposition.

*By George C. M. Douglas, D.D., Principal and formerly Professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Glasgow. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1895. 8vo, pp. xvii. 417. Price, 10s. 6d.*

THE opinion now generally current among Biblical critics regarding the collection of prophecies in the Old Testament attributed to

Isaiah is well known to be against unity of authorship. So strongly indeed has the tide been flowing in this direction that even some highly conservative scholars have been affected by its influence ; among these may be named Franz Delitzsch, who felt constrained to modify his early views on this as on other points. Many who have never carefully examined this subject for themselves, but merely observed the present tendency, may have tacitly assumed that nothing of weight and force can be pleaded on the other side ; a distinct service is therefore rendered through the appearance of this work from the pen of an accomplished Hebraist of long experience and sober judgment, who here recalls attention to what has been allowed to fall out of sight, and who, further, most effectively adduces the results of recent investigations in many fields.

As the learned Principal opposes current opinion, his book is necessarily argumentative, and even controversial ; but let us at once assure the reader that the bitter spirit which unfortunately so often pervades the writings of men earnestly contending for what they regard as the truth is wholly absent here ; and one need not read many pages to discover that the author, while fully and frankly stating his own conviction regarding the nature and tendency of the opposite view, is singularly free from everything like personal animosity towards those ranged on the other side. To him it is indeed a pain to differ from others, but he does not allow this pain to affect his relationship with friends to whose opinions he is opposed. To Dr Driver, for instance, he frequently refers, but mainly for the purpose of showing distinctly, by way of contrast, the difference between the two sides of a common subject ; while another reason for singling out the Canon for mention is the fact that the latter may well be regarded as a distinguished and able representative on the other side, whose writings are well known, perspicuous in style, and easily accessible. Mention is likewise made of other critics belonging to this country, as well as writers in other lands, but allusion to these, after all, is merely occasional ; yet we are by no means warranted in assuming that others unnamed are ignored.

This leads us further to observe that the present work is largely popular in its treatment ; it is obviously designed not so much for Hebrew scholars as rather and mainly for educated Christians who can only use the English Bible. In pursuance of this design, remarks on the language of the original, as well as more recondite discussions of debated questions, are wisely relegated to foot-notes, where valuable material is often found in brief but sufficient form. The note on the historical section in Isaiah (chapters xxxvi-xxxix.) forms a good example of this character.

The matter in the first portion of the book is naturally intro-

ductory. But this part can scarcely be called "Introduction" in the technical acceptation of the term; the preliminary essay, which occupies fully one-fourth of the whole, is necessarily of an apologetic nature, and may be regarded as the most distinctive feature of the volume; it contains a full and pointed discussion of what is obviously the kernel of the subject, viz.—the true nature of prophecy. Wisely, the author refrains from adducing merely external evidence in support of his position; and, confining himself to internal evidence, he contends against those who, denying or even minimising the supernatural, degrade the prophets from their true place of honour, and especially refuse to acknowledge the predictive element in prophecy. Material for illustration is obviously abundant in the book of Scripture which forms the subject of this work. The latter portion of the volume forms an effective exposition of the prophecies.

A reverent spirit breathes through every page. Careful himself in forming conclusions, the author may consistently condemn the contrary course pursued by others, as when he writes on page 135, "It is well to be cautious on a subject of which we know next to nothing"; or again, on page 308, "It is idle to speak of the inaccuracy and ignorance of the late writers of these portions of the books of Kings and Isaiah. It would show better taste, as well as sounder judgment, to study their modes of thought and writing; and also to confess, from time to time, that we really do not know, and therefore suspend decision upon certain points." We venture to think that hesitation has sometimes been shown when positive results might simply and safely have been reached; on the other hand, we feel greater confidence in accepting the positive conclusions of a writer who is anything but rash.

JAMES KENNEDY.

### **Livet efter Döden og Gudsrigets Fremtid.**

*Af Pastor L. Dahle. Stavanger: forlagt af L. C. Kielland. 8vo, pp. 454. Price, 4 kroner. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.*

THIS admirable book, *Livet efter Döden og Gudsrigets Fremtid*, makes us confess that if Norway possesses other theologians as widely read, as logical, fair, cautious, and perspicuous as Pastor Dahle, the sooner we are introduced to them the better. Dahle's subject is a very wide one: The life hereafter and the future of God's kingdom on the earth—but the several sections are well balanced, and one soon realises that he is in safe hands even when questions arise that are shrouded in obscurity and beset with difficulty. Kliefoth's *Eschatologie* is a larger and more pretentious

work, but it is not nearly so closely reasoned and conclusive as Dahle's book, and too frequently it comes to positive conclusions on insufficient data. It is quite true that the Norwegian author does not solve all the problems that occur to the mind; but the arguments from Scripture or elsewhere that he adduces as valid and sufficient generally lead one to accept his conclusions, and he does honestly try to meet all the objections to his opinions of which he has heard or read. Also, he altogether refuses to meddle with calculations as to times and seasons, or even to discuss purely fanciful theories about the future of the soul or the minute details of the Second Advent that have led many to look with suspicion on almost any book that treats of 'the last things.'

Starting with the definition that "life is that force in an organism which places all the other forces working in it in a serviceable relation to its growth and preservation," he shows that death enters as soon as that life-force ceases to operate. God made man his viceroy on earth, and so long as God's Spirit dwelt in man there was no room for death, but when man's spirit rebelled this position of supremacy was lost. Death is the result and the punishment of sin, but it is also a blessing, for it brings for the soul freedom from the trials of life and the trammels of the dust, and deliverance from sin. Dahle likens the soul to a citadel beleaguered by enemies. The fortress or soul is safely defended by God, but the enemy has obtained a footing in and possession of the town or body. If the siege is to be raised the town must be burned down and then the enemy will no longer be able to harass the defenders or attack the citadel. Death is the conflagration that frees the citadel of the soul from the enemy that harbours in the town of the body. An interesting account of the different notions of heathen races on the question of the immortality of the soul is given; and the doctrine of immortality is proved both apart from Scripture and from the Word of God. Dahle arrives at the conclusion that between death and doomsday there is an intermediate state for the soul; and he discusses, on the whole satisfactorily, such questions as the disembodied soul's relation to itself (its self-consciousness), to God, to the body, to other souls, to the past, its conceptions of time and space, and the possibility of changes in its condition. He agrees, however, that the souls of believers go straight to heaven at death, yet they do not immediately attain absolute bliss, for they must await the resurrection morn before they get their glorified bodies, and as the body is the instrument by which work is done, the soul cannot engage in the active service of the Lord until the Judgment Day. Hades is the place to which all who die unsaved proceed. It is not a place of punishment, and there is a possibility of those who received no Gospel call on earth getting an opportunity of accepting

or rejecting Christ and removing from Hades to Heaven. He does not quite reject prayer for the dead, at least in the case of those who died without hearing the gospel. Prayer, however, is not permissible for those who have heard but rejected the gospel, and it is superfluous for those who died in faith. He thinks it possible that our sainted dead pray for us. His Lutheranism, with its baptismal regeneration, prevents him from following Calvin in holding the merciful view that unbaptised children will ultimately be saved; but he adds that God's extraordinary grace may work wonders, and, at any rate, such children will be treated like those who did not receive the Saviour's call in life and at some time or other will have the opportunity of rejecting or accepting that gracious call. The questions of purgatory, preaching to the spirits in prison, &c., are fully entered into; whilst such subjects as the entrance of the heathen into the kingdom of God, the conversion of the Jews, Anti-Christ, the millennial kingdom, the last conflict, and the great judgment are carefully discussed.

The book gives a useful survey of all that pertains to the future of the individual and of the kingdom of God; but it must not be supposed that we can agree with all Pastor Dahle's views and conclusions. Nor is the book without blemishes which might easily have been avoided. It lacks a thorough division into chapters, with suitable headings; it lacks also an adequate index. There is too frequent reference to what has been said or is to be said without sufficient guidance to enable the careful reader to follow up the reference. Pastor Dahle's Lutheranism and his State-Churchism also occasionally assert themselves and sometimes lead him to do less than justice to Calvinism and the Sects. But the book is a scholarly production, worthy of the circulation of 4000 it has already secured among the Scandinavian peoples. A German translation has now been published, and by means of it our German-reading theologians may become better acquainted with a book and a writer that deserve to become well known in our land.

JNO. BEVERIDGE.

### **Petrusevangelium oder Aegyptenevangelium? Eine Frage bezüglich des neuentdeckten Evangelienfragments.**

*By Daniel Völter, Prof. of Theol. in Amsterdam. Tüb.: Heckenhauer'sche Buchhandlung. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 46. Price, M.1.20.*

### **Das Evangelium des Petrus.**

*By Dr Theodor Zahn, Prof. in Erlangen. Erlangen and Leipzig: Deichert. Pp. 80. Price, M.1.40. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.*

## Das Petrus-evangelium und die canonischen Evangelien.

By Von Soden, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, III. 1,  
pp. 52-92.

### The Gospel according to Peter : A Study.

By the author of "*Supernatural Religion*." London : Longmans.  
Pp. 139. Price, 6s.

The little treatise of Professor Völter is an interesting specimen of remarkably acute criticism expressed in a singularly fresh and straightforward way. Parts I. and II. consist respectively of a translation and a discussion of the unity of the present text. Völter regards our present text as interpolated, and in his translation he marks the interpolations by italics. About 50 lines out of 160 are assigned to the interpolator. He shows very plausible grounds for his theory, as all the passages so marked certainly do interfere with the progress of the narrative, and also because in several cases the removal of them relieves the document of self-contradictory statements. The passages thus removed are, according to the prevailing verse distribution, vv. 3-5a, 11-13, 21-24, 36, 37b, 39-42, 52-54, 56b. This relieves the document of the story of Joseph's begging the body of Jesus before the crucifixion takes place, the strange episode of the refusal to break the legs of the malefactor in order that he might suffer torture, that of the earthquake resulting from the laying of the dead body of the crucified upon the earth. It also reduces the appearances of heavenly men at the sepulchre from two to one, and does away with the legendary story of the three men of whom two reached in height to heaven and the other above the heavens, and the speaking cross that followed them.

With regard to the original text as thus purified, Völter thinks that the two main tendencies of the writer are to cast the whole blame of the death of Jesus on the Jews, and to represent Jesus as the Son of God. This latter tendency at least the writer surely shares with the canonical gospels, and all the essential points in his representation seem quite easy of explanation as suggested by these writings ; but Völter can only see the influence of *Wisdom* ii. 10-20, *Is.* lviii., and other Old Testament and Apocryphal passages. He does indeed point out the resemblance between the cry, *My strength, My strength, thou hast forsaken Me*, and that reported in Matthew and Mark, but only to contend that the *δύναμις μου* of Peter can answer to the *ἡλὲι* of our gospels, only if we understand the latter of the Divine Spirit, the Holy Spirit, and not the spirit of the personal life of Jesus. One of the most unsatisfactory features of the work is the way in

which the author seeks to exaggerate the Doketic tendency of Peter by understanding "the taking up" (ἀνελήφθη) as the withdrawal of the divine Being before the death by crucifixion. It is quite evident that this is not the idea set forth in the fragment. Zahn has clearly shown, p. 72, what all students of Irenæus ought to have no doubt about (see especially, *Hæc.* i. 7, 2; 26, 1; iii. 11, 3; 16, 1), that the idea of the departure of the Spirit as the divine nature of Christ, not at, but before death, was a tenet of Western Valentinianism, not of the Eastern school, with which alone the author of Peter's gospel can even plausibly be supposed to be connected. The passage is quite parallel to, or rather an echo of Matt. xxvii. 50, and undoubtedly is intended to relate the death of the Lord, "the Son of God," upon the cross. It was evidently thus understood in early times. Serapion, about A.D. 200, who had first given his approval, though upon a more careful and critical examination of it he thought that he had discovered Doketic tendencies in it, yet even then found it generally sound and orthodox, which certainly could not have been a fair description of the book, if such full-blown Doketism as this implies had been found in it. The use of the term *δύναμις* might easily be understood by Serapion as perhaps a somewhat suspicious mode of expression, but yet quite capable of being taken as an equivalent for the "God" of canonical scripture; but the idea of a withdrawal of the divine nature of Christ into heaven before the death of the body, or the semblance of a body, on the cross would have called forth a much more sweeping condemnation.

The latter half of Völter's pamphlet is occupied with a discussion as to the possible origin or source of our fragment. He thinks that it could not have originated with the Doketics of Antioch. Its Doketism is not of the gross kind of Saturninus, but is more closely allied to the moderate and refined gnosticism of Valentinus. It did not, however, originate with the Valentinians, but was rather used by them, and ranked among them as a gospel along with others. Its origin is not to be sought for among heretics, but at a period and in a community where the Doketic tendency was in the air. The region in which it made its appearance was not Syria, otherwise it would have been better known by Serapion of Antioch, but probably Alexandria, whose first bishop, Marcus, was the disciple of Peter, and where the writings of Peter were in highest esteem. In support of this hypothesis Völter traces resemblances between Peter and the Epistle of Barnabas, which certainly had its home in Egypt, and he thinks that he can even show a good case for the supposition that the author of the later added portions of the Epistle of Barnabas was acquainted with the Gospel of Peter in the form represented by our fragment. Also the so-called Second Epistle of Clement has used our Gospel and none of the canonical gospels as its source. So,

too, in agreement with Harnack, he holds that our Gospel is the source of the Didascalia. Finally, the presence, as Völter supposes, of monarchian modalistic tendencies in our Gospel supplies the cue which associates it with the "Gospel of the Egyptians." The reasoning in the latter part of the tract seems utterly inconclusive. Starting from Zahn's conjecture that Peter may have been the source of a report of a conversation between Jesus and Salome, not found in the canonical gospels, but in a writing of Cassian, the founder of the Doketics, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, and said to be derived from the Gospel of the Egyptians, and from the fact that Clement of Alexandria refers to the Apocalypse and Preaching, but never to the Gospel of Peter, he leaps to the conclusion that the Gospel of the Egyptians (which he does name along with the Gospel of the Hebrews) and Gospel of Peter are identical. Also Origen, in his history of Apocryphal Gospels, mentions the Gospel of the Egyptians, saying that some gave it that name, implying that it had another, but not the Gospel of Peter, of which he speaks elsewhere. The concluding conjecture is that the purified text represents the Gospel of Peter, and the interpolated text, as we have it, the Gospel of the Egyptians.

In the little treatise of Zahn we have the text and translation of the fragment followed by a careful discussion of the spirit and style of the work. The position which he maintains in regard to the origin and source of the Gospel of Peter is sufficiently indicated by what he says on p. 47: "The only sources from which the Gospel of Peter has drawn its materials are our four gospels, and those too in a text which has already necessarily had for its development some time since the origin of these gospels. In this lies the great significance of the Gospel of Peter." In opposition to Harnack, he thinks that the fact of Peter being so often in direct contradiction to the four, instead of being a proof that the canonical gospels were not before the writer of the new gospel, affords rather a presumption in favour of that view, for his undertaking of his task is evidence of his dissatisfaction with what they had said on certain important points. There is *ex hypothesi* on the part of the author no pious reverential regard for the earlier gospels such as could make him careful to follow them closely; yet he will freely use them for his own ends. In detail Zahn shows (pp. 49-56) how closely Peter follows John, Mark, Matthew, and Luke in expression and in substance.

Zahn looks to Antioch, rather than to Alexandria, as its home. In the fourth century it was used by a heretical party in Syria, though certainly not by the Nazareans, as Theodoret absurdly supposes. In A.D. 1099 Crusaders found a Christian sect in the neigh-

bourhood of Antioch in possession of a Gospel of St Peter. The Antiochean origin of the gospel accounts for the author's special knowledge of the historical Petronius, and also the philological knowledge implied in the rendering of the words uttered on the cross. As to its date, Zahn points to what he regards as the undoubted fact of this writer's use of our four gospels. This makes the beginning of the second century the earliest limit. But the use of the canonical gospels by our author implies that they had a history behind them, and were already in possession of an established reputation, and that around them glosses and misinterpretations had gathered. This brings us down to the middle of the second century, not earlier than A.D. 130. There is no trace of independent traditions such as we would have had in a document written in the beginning of the century. Again, Serapion's reference to it does not admit of our assigning to it a later date than A.D. 170. It was among the Oriental Valentinians what the *evangelium veritatis* was among the Western. Zahn concludes by saying that the great significance of the Gospel of Peter consists in this, that it witnesses to the supremacy of our four gospels as we now possess them, about A.D. 150; and especially, that more distinctly than other witnesses it attests the truth of the 21st chapter joined to the Gospel of John, and the narrative broken off at the 8th verse of the 16th chapter of Mark.

The paper by the distinguished Berlin exegete and New Testament critic, von Soden, in the Ritschlian organ *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, attaches itself closely to the work of Harnack on the Gospel of Peter, and may be described generally as a justification of that work by the production in detail of the evidence required to warrant the conclusions that had been there laid down. He is quite prepared at the outset to assume that Harnack has proved the use of Peter by Justin as well as by the compiler of the Didascalia, Clement of Alexandria, &c., possibly even by Ignatius and Papias, while he accepts the suggestion that Tatian was acquainted with it, though he declined to use it in the composition of his Diatessaron. He does indeed feel the difficulty of reconciling Serapion's ignorance of it, except in connection with the small community at Rhossus in Cilicia, and this widespread use of it by the best known teachers of that age and earlier ages. But this really is only one of many objections which those who argue in favour of this Gospel's early date and use by the most ancient writers have altogether failed to meet.

The fragment falls into two parts, which give respectively the story of the trial and crucifixion, vv. 1-24, and that of the resurrection, vv. 25-60. Von Soden deals with the latter first, distinguished

from the earlier portion by its more complicated construction and greater freedom and originality of treatment on the part of the writer. We have, pp. 59-68, a careful detailed comparison in respect of form and contents between Peter and our gospels, Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John. His conclusion is that our author used a source identical with, or somewhat shorter than, Mark xvi. 1-8; that the other three canonical gospels were unknown, any similarities being explained by the use of some common sources; that Peter has made use of a series of traditions peculiar to himself, which must be judged of on their own merits; and that common elements can be traced in this and in other primitive Christian documents. The first part of the fragment is subjected to a similar scrutiny, pp. 68-79, and then, the relation of the whole fragment to our canonical gospels is considered, pp. 79-87.

The home of the gospel was Syria or South-Eastern Asia Minor, close on the borders of Syria, where it became known to Serapion in the end of the second century, it having been already driven out of other places in consequence of the Roman canonization of the four gospels. It had been the Syrian gospel just as Mark and Matthew were specially connected with Rome, and Luke and John with Asia Minor. As resting on traditions current in those regions in which Peter, according to 1 Peter i. 1, must have spent part of his later ministry, it may have some rightful claim to the designation which it has assumed. Finally, as to the date of our gospel, Von Soden, being firmly convinced of its use by Justin, and evidently strongly inclined to accept Harnack's view that it lay before Papias, Ignatius, and the author of the *Didache*, concludes that it is certainly not later than our canonical gospels, but that it originated in the same period and under a similar inspiration as these, just missing what they obtained by the arbitrary action of the Church in its rigid determination of the contents of the Scripture Canon. In this respect his conclusion is quite the same as that of "the author of Supernatural Religion."

It may be useful to compare Volter, Zahn, and Von Soden with the author of "Supernatural Religion" in these discussions. The work of the anonymous writer has now been a sufficient length of time before the public to make it possible to form a just and sober judgment of it. The character of the so-called study will be best seen from the summary statement of results which the author gives us in his closing page. "In so far as the Gospel according to Peter is concerned, the impartial verdict must be: It is neither better nor worse than the more fortunate works which have found a safe resting-place within the Canon of the Church. It is almost impossible now to judge of

these works as we judge the fragment. . . . There is no canonical glamour to veil its shortcomings. . . . Then, the canonical gospels, in their greater circulation and in the process of reception by the Church, secured a gradual revision which might have smoothed away any roughness from the Gospel of Peter had it been equally fortunate. . . . It is the merit of the fragment that it presents considerable variation in the original sources, and shows us the fluidity of the early reports of that which was supposed to take place during the period which it embraces. We have in it a primitive and less crystallised form of the Christian tradition." This might really have been stated at the outset as the thesis to be maintained and established. The whole treatise is essentially polemical in tone, and certainly gives the impression to the reader which "*Supernatural Religion*" did to Bishop Lightfoot, that the author was determined to prefer the least feasible and most unlikely alternative if only it seemed to favour his main contention. He speaks often sneeringly of apologists, meaning those who, whether conscientiously or doggedly, argue in favour of the view which he seeks to discredit. In regard to critical investigations only those should be called apologists who, like the author of "*Supernatural Religion*," pass over what does not help their advocacy of a particular theory, and adopt improbable hypotheses in order to make good a foregone conclusion.

The writer gives us an interesting account of the finding of the fragment, followed by a good literal translation. We have then a full statement of the action taken by Serapion of Antioch, with reference to our Gospel, and a critical investigation as to what precisely is implied in what he says. The chapters that follow on Justin Martyr, the Epistle of Barnabas, and Tatian's Diatessaron, contain much that seems familiar to every one who remembers the author's earlier work. For this reason, and also because what can be said on these subjects from this point of view is better said by Harnack, we may pass these chapters by without remark.

The most interesting, and by far the most important, part of the work is chapter viii. pp. 47-106, on "*The Fragment and the Canonical Gospels*." This chapter is practically a review of the whole contents of the fragment compared with our Gospels in respect of variation, addition, or omission. Attention is called first of all to what seems a very marked divergence from the canonical narrative in Peter's gospel in the part assigned to Pilate in the trial of Jesus. The statement in the first verse of our fragment that "*Pilate rose*," seems to indicate the end of his interference in the trial. In connection with this there are two points which our author thinks he has very successfully made against the "*apologists*," and also against our canonical gospels, which latter are equally objectionable and equally inclined to apology. On the one hand, the references to

Pilate in Peter are much more feasible than the representation of his feebleness and submissiveness given in the four gospels. On the other hand, the omission of the picturesque episode of Barabbas, related by all our Evangelists, is evidence that Peter, who is supposed to write under a sort of animus against the Jews, did not know these documents in which he would have found a story so helpful in giving point and strength to his charge. Now, the writer who can argue thus must be strangely oblivious to the peculiar character of the document with which he deals. He seems to have forgotten that it is a fragment, and that the only reference in it to the part which Pilate took in the trial is in the hand-washing scene, which he himself recognises as the close of Pilate's action in the case, and that this occurs in the broken verse with which the fragment opens. It is evident that all that was to be said of Pilate's part in the trial must have been said in the earlier part of the gospel not now extant. Does our author forget that the release of Barabbas is represented by our Evangelists as the act of Pilate? In Matthew's gospel it is related immediately before the story of the washing of the hands. Before the beginning of our fragment, and not in it, would be the place for the story of Barabbas. As to the description of Pilate's conduct given in our gospels, it is psychologically and historically probable, in view of the character of the Roman Procurator, as given by Josephus and Philo (see Schürer, *Hist. of Jewish People*, I. ii. 83). But even apart from this, how can our author say that Peter's narrative has the merit of not representing the Roman Governor as acting in this feeble way? How does he know in what way Peter represented Pilate, seeing that all that he has said about him, but that he washed his hands and rose and went out, is no longer extant? This only we see, that Peter represents Pilate as withdrawing from the trial; and this, in any case, we might very naturally suppose to imply weakness on his part.

A very reasonable view is taken of the passages usually advanced as favouring a Doketic view of Christ's person. It is regarded as doubtful whether any trace of heretical leanings in that direction are to be found in the fragment. But in the immediately following pages our author reverts to his usual practice of carping criticism; the earthquake of Matthew is at the moment of Jesus' death; in Peter when the body is laid on the ground and the nails removed. Luke represents the risen Lord as showing hands *and feet*, Peter speaks only of nails in the hands; Peter speaks of great fire falling upon the people because of the earthquake, while Matthew only notes its occurrence. It surely is not necessary, even on the theory of Peter's use of the canonical gospel, to suppose that he must reproduce every phrase and each incident found in them. On the other hand, our author makes a point against Zahn and others who

understand the support given to the Risen Lord as implying on his part the extremest weakness. His protest against this view, and his explanation of the support as an act of homage and honour yielded by his glorified companions, afford a welcome aid to the understanding of the fragment.

The main contention of our author is that there is no dogmatic purpose of a Doketic or Anti-Jewish kind to account for Peter's divergences from the lines of the canonical gospels if these had been before him. "That a writer who had our canonical gospels before him should so depart from their lines, alter every representation without dogmatic purpose, insert contradictory statements, and omit episodes of absorbing interest and passages which would have enriched his narrative, is a theory which cannot be established." If we could take this summary as an accurate account of the contents of Peter's Gospel, we would readily admit the justice of his conclusion. But this seems quite in conflict with any fair and calm comparison of the fragment with our Gospels, with which it very largely agrees, its differences being largely of such a kind as to imply some doctrinal or ecclesiastical motive.

Our author's attempt to turn aside the attack of Professor Rendel Harris by showing that the prophetic gnosis so observable in Peter, and regarded by him as evidence of the post-canonical date of our Gospel, is no less manifest in our Gospels and in other parts of the New Testament, cannot be described as very successful. None of the canonical references to fulfilments of scripture prophecies are of the sort which Professor Harris very plausibly endeavours to prove against Peter—the use of a form of gnosis developed beyond anything that we find in the four gospels. Mr Harris may go too far, but our author fails to show that such a gnostic tendency operating on canonical materials may not account for all the peculiarities of the Gospel of Peter.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

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### **Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Das Buch Daniel übersetzt und erklärt von Georg Behrmann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. lii. 84. Price, M.2.80.*

THIS addition to the Handkommentar is worthy of the series. It is a scholarly and strictly grammatical commentary. While the want of the padding and prophesying so common in older commentaries on Daniel is an advantage, the reader at times desiderates a little more exegesis. The introduction, which occupies more than a third of the whole thin volume, is especially valuable. The position the

author takes up is the ordinary critical one, that the date of Daniel is to be placed during the Maccabean struggle. At the same time, he is not extreme, and is greatly more independent of his predecessors than most of those who agree with him. This independence does not mean neglect of his predecessors—indeed, unlike Germans in general, he acknowledges that valuable works have been written in English. Professor Bevan he honours by placing, not only among his authorities, but among those so frequently used that he is quoted by a contraction “B.” Dr Behrmann has certainly made full use of the German practice of reference by contraction. While these contractions are useful as saving space, and not infrequently do suggest what they stand for without necessitating a peep at the table of *Abkürzungen*, yet K.A.T. for Schrader’s *Keilinschriften*, R.E. for Herzog’s *Realencyclopaedie*, K. for Kautzsch’s *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, are somewhat violent. It is, however, an advantage to have the table, an advantage which some commentators do not give their readers. In his introduction his study of the linguistic question is, though very careful, not quite so satisfactory in regard to the Hebrew as with regard to the Aramaic. His conclusion as to the Hebrew is that it is not only later than that of Ezekiel, but also later than that of Chronicles. Unfortunately he has not directed his attention to the fragments of Ben Sira that have been preserved to us by the Talmudists. Had he studied them he would have found that the Hebrew of, at latest, 180 B.C. was very much more recent than that of Daniel. Although he has made considerable use of the Septuagint, he does not seem to have drawn the logical conclusion from the phenomena of that version that the Hebrew text has suffered from modernising recension. In regard to the Aramaic, he comes to the conclusion that it is a Western dialect that is used. Here, too, he does not give full attention to the effects of recension in not only modernising, but also occidentalising. He observes the use of the 𐤀 preformative of the *Aphel*, instead of 𐤁; though he does not dismiss it, like Professor Bevan, as “merely a matter of spelling,” yet he does not notice this as a peculiarity which Biblical Aramaic shares with the Aramaic of the Sindschirli inscriptions (see Müller *Altsem. Inschrift. von Sindschirli*, p. 49). He notices with approval, in the text, Bevan’s suggestion as to the Mandaean form of the third person singular and plural of the imperfect of ܕܝܢ, which appears so regularly in Biblical Aramaic, but does not refer to it in the introduction. The preformative in Western Aramaic in these cases is ܝ, whereas in Eastern Aramaic it is ܢ or ܠ—the latter practically restricted to the Mandaean. In Biblical Aramaic we have always ܕܝܢ and ܕܝܢܐ, never ܝܕܝܢ or ܝܕܝܢܐ, and Bevan regards this as due to a

reverential shrinking from writing a word that is like the Divine name. Unfortunately for this theory the Targums manifest no such reverence—*e.g.*, Genesis xviii. 18 (Onkelos). The natural explanation is, that we have here a survival of the original more Eastern form through a Western recension. It is to be observed that in the Sindschirli Inscriptions we have the ' performative (*e.g.*, יִבְרַח, Hadad Inscription, line 15); it is thus possible that to some extent נ and ל are comparatively recent peculiarities, even in Eastern Aramaic. Behrmann further fails to observe the rare use of ית, the sign of the accusative in Biblical Aramaic, compared with its frequency in the Targums; it is only used once in Daniel as a support to a prenominal suffix, precisely as the equivalent ית occurs in the Sindschirli inscription.

While we have commended the general independence of Behrmann, we have to acknowledge that he follows others of his school in making assertions on authority that they ought to state to be doubtful. He quotes Jeremiah xxv. 1, in order to prove Daniel i. 1 an anachronism, but does not inform his readers that the clause in Jeremiah which appears to contradict Daniel is omitted from the Septuagint. He refers to the murder of Onias III. by Andronicus as if it were an indubitable fact, although the whole transaction rests on the valueless authority of 2 Maccabees, in a narrative full of internal improbabilities, and which is contradicted by Josephus. He also assumes that the author of Daniel must have imagined that Belshazzar was the son and immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar, because Nebuchadnezzar is repeatedly called his father—forgetful of the fact that in the inscriptions of Shalmanazar II., Jehu (*Yahua*) is called the *son* of Omri, forgetful also of the evident familiarity of the author of Daniel with Jeremiah and his consequent knowledge of the fact that Evil Merodach, not Belshazzar, succeeded Nebuchadnezzar, and that he showed kindness, if not to the Jews as a nation, at least to their captive king. On the other hand he abandons the parallelling of Nebuchadnezzar with Epiphanes. In consequence he avoids the blunder into which Professor Cornill has fallen, of imagining that Nebuchadnezzar is equivalent to Antiochus Epiphanes by Gematria. He points out a blunder in the spelling of Epiphanes which is involved in the Gematria. He does not observe that ז, which occurs twice, is estimated at seventy instead of eighty. The blunder which Behrmann avoids Dean Farrar falls into in his book on Daniel. Although Behrmann quotes Polybius as if he had asserted that Epiphanes received commonly the punning nickname of Epimanes, not recognising that this rests on the authority of Athenaeus, who says that Polybius himself gives him that nickname. He also abandons the assertion on which Driver to a great extent rests his proof of the late date of Daniel that συμφωνία means a musical

instrument, and admits it means a chorus *Koncert*. Yet he seems to think *κεράτιον* means a musical instrument in the frequently quoted passage in Polybius xxvi. 10, 5—a thing that is very doubtful. He thinks, as it appears correctly, that the older form is *σιφώνια*, and that *συμφωνία* is due to the error of copyists. He does not note the fact that the word is evidently equivalent to the Syriac *ܣܝܦܢܝܐ*. From Strack we know that this could not be derived from *σίφων*, but if from a Greek source it would have to be some form like *στίφων*. This Syriac form suggests *ܣܦܢܐ* as the root. Altogether, however one may differ from some of Dr Behrmann's conclusions, no one can deny that his Commentary is a valuable addition to our literature on Daniel.

We cannot avoid making a comparison between the latest German and the latest English commentary on Daniel—that by Dean Farrar. Unlike the calm, moderate tone of Behrmann is the rhetorical tone of Farrar, but still greater is the difference in matters of accuracy. Behrmann never blunders. At least, after a careful study we have never found him do so; when he is wrong it is in following other critics without due examination, whereas Farrar is full of perfectly original blunders. To show that we are not speaking without reason, we shall give a couple of examples out of many. In connection with the name of the Chief of the Eunuchs, in page 47 we have this statement in the text—"Ashpenaz, whom in *one* manuscript the LXX. call Abiesdri" (the italics are ours). This sentence implies that there are extant several manuscripts of the Septuagint of Daniel, whereas every scholar knows there is only the Codex Chisianus. We prefer to make this due to a blunder of ignorance to accusing such a man as Dean Farrar of conscious dishonesty. The note to this, however, is simply wonderful. "Lenormant, p. 182, regards it as a corruption of Ashbenazar, 'the goddess has pruned the seed' (?), but assumed corruptions of the text are an uncertain expedient." We will not press the fact that it is on p. 183 of the "La Divination," that the passage to which he refers occurs; but we may, we think, press the fact that Lenormant does not read the name *Ashbenazar* but *Assa-ibni-zir*. The crowning marvel is the Dean's rendering of Lenormant's translation of this name. We do not wonder that he followed it with double marks of interrogation; the French is "*la Dame (Istar de Ninive) a formé le germe,*" a perfectly simple piece of French. There is nothing in it whatever about "pruning seed." He is, however, not done either with Abiesdri or with Lenormant; in p. 126, note to Ashpenaz, we have "LXX. 'Αβιεσδρί. The name is of quite uncertain derivation. Lenormant connects it with *Abai-Istar*, 'Astronomer of the goddess Istar' (La Divination, p. 182)." In "La Divination" at that page there is no statement of the sort, at least in the edition we have

made use of. The last sentence of this note has also noticeable blunders. "Dr Joel (*Notizen zum Buche Daniel*, p. 17), says that since the Vulgate reads *Abriesri ob nicht der Wort von rechts zu links gelesen müsste?*" We do not possess Dr Joel's work, but we are confident he never wrote such ungrammatical German. We are afraid we must put the credit of making *Wort* masculine to the Dean. Further, Dean Farrar intends us to read the English and the German as one sentence; then even if we put his German right "we have," Dr Joel says, "'whether one must not read the work from right to left,'" a sentence either incomplete or incorrect. That is not all that is wrong here. *Abriesri* is not the reading of the Vulgate in the sense the term is used now. The origin of this blunder is to be found in Jerome's Commentary on Daniel; commenting on Daniel i. 3, he says: "*pro Ashphanez in edit. Vulgata αβριεσδρι scriptum reperi*"; the edition Jerome here refers to is, if not the LXX., possibly the Latin used by Tertullian; his quotations from Daniel coincide in most places with the Septuagint text—it is also the reading of the Codex Corbeiensis. Again, on p. 124, we have this statement—"Nor did Nebuchadnezzar advance against the Holy City even after the battle of Carchemish, but dashed home across the desert to secure the crown of Babylon on hearing the news of his father's death." Whatever the site of Carchemish, it is abundantly proved both from Egyptian and Assyrian sources to have been near the Euphrates. Babylon was also on the Euphrates. To have crossed the desert on his way to Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar must have made a detour of something about a hundred miles.

J. E. H. THOMSON.

### Notices.

*Persecution and Tolerance*<sup>1</sup> is the title of the Hulsean Lectures which were delivered by Dr Mandell Creighton, Bishop of Peterborough, in 1893-94. The bishop treats the subject in an ingenious and original way, which gives all the interest of novelty to the volume. He aims at reading the history of the rise of the policy of persecution, the motives in which it originated, and the place which it has occupied in the career of Churches and nations. He has an easy task in showing that no Church can claim to have kept free of it. But the interest of his survey lies in the fact that he does not regard persecution as due simply to the absoluteness of the claims of Christianity, but explains it as a thing taken over by the Church from the State, when the maintenance of social order came upon the Church. It was adopted, he thinks, for political rather than religious

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 4s. 6d.

ends, and was never approved by the Church conscience as such. It was accepted and persevered in so long as it seemed that religious or theological beliefs were the only basis for social order, and it began to be given up only when men came to think differently of the foundations of society. Bishop Creighton says some wise and weighty things on the difference between tolerance and indifferentism. The book is a very able one, shedding much light on important passages in the history of thought and policy in Church and State. It stimulates enquiry, and gives a new aspect to old questions.

Professor Oskar Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*<sup>1</sup> forms the eighth section of the *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften*. It gives a brief, pointed, and useful summary. After the usual introduction on the nature and plan of the study in question, and on the history of the Jews both in its political and its domestic aspects, the book states in three main divisions the facts of most interest and importance with respect to the historical soil of the New Testament literature, the conditions of the popular life of the Jewish people at the time when the literature arose, and the religious views of the Jews in their relation to the New Testament writings. There are good sketches of the history of Palestine from Alexander to the fall of the Jewish State; the political geography of Palestine (including a careful statement of the chief points regarding the Roman Provinces); the chronology of the New Testament; Jewish weights and measures; the services in temple and synagogue; the party divisions of the Jews; the Sanhedrim, &c. The most interesting part is perhaps the last, in which the religious beliefs of the Jews are considered,—their views of the law, angels and spirits, and the influence which Hellenism and Greek associations had upon Jewish thought and Jewish faith. Much as is contained in the concise and compact statements of the book, we could wish greater fulness, especially in the last section. But the limits of the series preclude detail, and the author has done his best under the circumstances. The book will be of great service to students of the New Testament.

We are glad to receive another section of the important series of *Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*<sup>2</sup> which are being issued under the able editorship of Professor J. Armitage Robinson, of Cambridge. What is now to hand makes the first part of the third volume of the series. It is occupied with the *Rules of Tyconius*. It will be of great interest to all students of Her-

<sup>1</sup> Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 260. Price, 5s. 6d. Cloth.

<sup>2</sup> Texts and Studies. Vol. III. No. 1. Cambridge University Press. 8vo, pp. exx. 114. Price, 5s. net.

meneutics, these *Rules* having so remarkable a place in the history of Biblical Interpretation. All that can well be done in exhibiting the methods of Tyconius, the ideas of Scripture which they illustrate, the influence which they had on Augustine and his followers, and the importance which belongs to them in the history of Exegesis, has been done in this volume. It could have been committed to no better hand than that of Mr F. C. Burkitt.

The translation of Bishop Hefele's *History of the Councils of the Church*<sup>1</sup> has now reached the fourth volume. The translator and editor, Professor William R. Clark, of Trinity College, Toronto, has done his work in an entirely satisfactory manner. English students owe him much for placing at their disposal a volume of such value. All Hefele's work was of the first order, the result of genuine research and scientific investigation of the original authorities, and his account of the great ecclesiastical councils is one of the best contributions made in our time to the study of Church History. The present volume of the English translation, which corresponds to Books XII.-XV. of the original, covers the period between A.D. 451 and A.D. 680. It deals with a large number of ecclesiastical conventions, Irish, French, Spanish, Roman, Persian, British, and others. Some of these are of considerable interest. Among them are those at Arles which were occupied with the Doctrine of Grace, the two Roman Synods under Gelasius, the two British Synods of A.D. 512 and A.D. 516 and others which dealt with the outbreak of the controversy of the Three Chapters, and the fifth Œcumenical Synod. The last section of the volume covers the period between the fifth and sixth Œcumenical Councils, and carries the history on to the beginning of the Monothelite controversy. The book is one which no student of Church History can afford to dispense with.

Dr Wildeboer's contributions to the study of the Canon of the Old Testament have deservedly attracted attention. This translation of his volume on the Origin of the Canon, which is by the hand of Dr Benjamin Wisner Bacon, will be welcome to many English readers.<sup>2</sup> The book begins with some statements on the parts of the Old Testament, the three-fold division, and other matters of an introductory nature. It then collects and examines all the historical evidence relating to the Old Testament Canon which can be

<sup>1</sup> A History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents, by the Right Rev. Charles Joseph Hefele, D.D., late Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly Professor in Theology in the University of Tübingen. Vol. IV. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. x. 498. Price, 12s.

<sup>2</sup> The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament. A Historico-Critical Inquiry. By Dr. G. Wildeboer, Professor at Groningen. London: Luzac & Co. 8vo, pp. xii. 179. Price, 7s. 6d.

gathered from the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, the New Testament, the Jewish-Greek literature, the Palestinian-Jewish writings, and the works of the Christian Fathers. This is followed by an investigation of the process by which the books came to form a collection ; in connection with which the canonisation of the Law, the canonisation of the Prophets, and the canonisation of the Writings are considered in succession. Dr Wildeboer has a good style, and the gift of putting things clearly. His inquiry is consistently conducted in accordance with the methods of historical and critical investigation. There is also a Preface by Professor George F. Moore, which adds to the value of what will be found to be a very useful book.

Dr H. A. A. Kennedy produces a piece of sound and thorough investigation in his *Sources of New Testament Greek*.<sup>1</sup> It is the work of a young scholar, who wisely addresses himself to a particular and definite department of study in which it is quite possible yet to break fresh ground. Much as the great grammarians Winer, Buttman, and others have done for New Testament Greek, there is not a little still to be done, especially as regards the composition, sources, and general complexion of the language in which the words of our Lord and His apostles are enshrined. Dr Kennedy lays a broad foundation for his results. He reviews, first of all, the conditions and circumstances of the Greek language as it appears in the literature of the third century B.C. The nature and formative elements of the Attic Greek of Xenophon, the peculiarities of the Macedonian dialect, the transitional stage seen in Aristotle, the effects of Alexander's marches, the genius of the literary dialect, are all examined with much care. The enquiry then passes on to the Septuagint, its environment, its vocabulary, and the various influences—Ionic and others—which made it what it was. Then comes a survey of the chief facts in the history and the vocabulary of the Greek literature belonging to the period between the completion of the Septuagint and the close of the first Christian century. This is followed by a detailed and instructive exhibition of the different elements in the Greek of the New Testament itself, a comparison between the vocabulary of the Septuagint and that of the New Testament, and a statement of the influence of the Septuagint on the theological and religious terms of the New Testament.

The enquiry, on the whole, is conducted with good sense and scientific propriety. It is fruitful and instructive at several points. It does not cover the entire field. A larger place should be given,

<sup>1</sup> *Sources of New Testament Greek ; or, The Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament.* By the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. x. 172. Price, 5s.

for example, to the creative influence of the new Christian ideas, their effect in modifying old Greek words and usages and in forming new ones. More use might also be made, to the general improvement of the study, of the scientific work of Alexander Buttmann on the grammar of the New Testament. But the book is in most respects so excellent that we look for further and larger studies from the same author. His general results also are well sustained by the facts he has brought out. He makes it clear that the Greek of the Septuagint, while there is in it a large infusion of the Semitic element, has a good deal in common with the writers of the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, and so much of the people's speech as to entitle us to speak of it as "often a transcript of the vernacular." The influence of the Septuagint upon the New Testament, according to Dr Kennedy, while it is undoubtedly great, is easily exaggerated. What sets the Septuagint and the New Testament in a class by themselves is, he concludes, the colloquial language which is distinctive of both.

Dr Weymouth deals, in an acute and careful way, with the force of the Greek Aorist and Perfect and their relation to the English Preterites.<sup>1</sup> His pamphlet will repay attentive study as regards the use of these tenses. There are also good remarks on the employment of *γάρ* and *οὖν* in the New Testament.

The completion of Brockelmann's *Lexicon*<sup>2</sup> is an event of much importance to the increasing band of scholars who are giving themselves to the study of the Syriac language and literature. It is needless to commend the book. Its merits are well understood. It is admirably printed, and it appears in a remarkably handsome form. An excellent *Index Compendiorum*, which is given both at the end and as a separate card, adds to its usefulness. Author, publishers, and printers have all done their best for the book. It is likely to remain long the most serviceable book of its kind for the Syriac student.

We have the pleasure of noticing a second and revised edition of Mr Marson's very useful volume illustrative of the Psalms.<sup>3</sup>

The Rev. George Milligan, B.D.,<sup>4</sup> contributes another volume to

<sup>1</sup> On the Rendering into English of the Greek Aorist and Perfect, &c. By Richard Francis Weymouth, D.Lit. London: Nutt. 8vo, pp. 55. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> *Lexicon Syriacum*, Auctore Carolo Brockelmann. Prefatus est Th. Nöldeke. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard. Pp. viii. 510. Price, 30s. net.

<sup>3</sup> The Psalms at Work, being the English Church Psalter, with a few short Notes on the use of the Psalms gathered together. By Charles L. Marson, Curate of St Mary's, Somers Town. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 236. Price 6s.

<sup>4</sup> The Lord's Prayer. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 158. Price, 1s. 6d.

the *Golden Nails* series, consisting of a series of simple sermons or addresses on the Lord's Prayer, admirably adapted to children.

Under the title of *The Message of Man*<sup>1</sup> we have a collection of passages, drawn from all kinds of writers, ancient and modern, secular and sacred, bearing upon certain matters of duty and prudential conduct. The passages are arranged under such headings as these: "Be not led into temptation"; "We see not our own hearts aright"; "We have no life apart from others"; "Be good and thou wilt do good." The arrangement is sometimes rather artificial, but the compilation is good, and the book may be used to profit.

In his *Social Science and Social Schemes*,<sup>2</sup> Mr James M'Clelland gives his views on such subjects as Combinations, Labour, Capital, Equality, the Land and the People, Progress and Poverty. He writes sensibly, and without pretension or parade. What he says under the topics of *Dreamlands* and *Looking Forward* deserves attention.

In his *Darwinism and Race Progress*<sup>3</sup> the Professor of Physiology in University College, Cardiff, gives the results of his studies on the question whether the brain and muscle of a race must inevitably decay. He gives interesting statements on Racial Degeneration in Spain, on the Causes and Signs of Physical Deterioration, and kindred topics. Students of Darwinism will find something to interest them in Dr Haycraft's book.

The anonymous author of *The Four Gospels as Historical Records*<sup>4</sup> writes in opposition to popular English ideas on Miracle, Prediction, the Resurrection of Christ, and other subjects of the highest moment. He thinks these ideas are purely traditional, "depending largely, if not wholly, on statements which are not true, but which are held to be beyond doubt or question." This indicates his standpoint and his object. There is the evidence of much laborious study in the book. But the labour is often ill directed, and the conclusions are reached by methods which, if applied to other historical records, even of comparatively recent date, would make short work of the best of them.

Mr Jacobs appropriately dedicates his *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*<sup>5</sup> to Mr S. Schechter, the esteemed Reader in Talmudic

<sup>1</sup> The Message of Man. A book of ethical Scriptures gathered from many sources, and arranged. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 323. Price, 4s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 213.

<sup>3</sup> By John Berry Haycraft, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.E. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 180. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxxiii. 539. Price 15s.

<sup>5</sup> By Joseph Jacobs, Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid. London: D. Nutt. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 148.

Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. The volume consists of a series of articles contributed to the *Archæological Review*, *Folk-Lore*, the *Athenæum*, and the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*. They deal with recent researches in Archæology and Comparative Religion. They are well written, and of considerable value. Among the most interesting are those on *Junior Right in Genesis*, on the *Nethinim*, and on the question whether there are *Totem-clans in the Old Testament*. Others seem less successful, especially that on the *Indian Origin of Proverbs*.

Dr Curtis gives us a volume of mixed value on the connection between the Old Testament and the New.<sup>1</sup> It is very fairly described as "leisurely rambles in the Old Testament with some of its friends and admirers." There are some rapid but lively dissertations of certain Old Testament scholars, Renan, Toy, Cheyne, Driver, and others. Perhaps the best part of the book is that in which the author writes of the wisdom of going back to the Old Testament for Sociology.

Mr Arthur Lillie's volume on *Madame Blavatsky and her Theosophy*<sup>2</sup> is an acute study and convincing exposure. The marvel is that this clever Theosophist and her amazing system should ever have secured such attention as to make a deliberate examination of her pretensions in any degree necessary.

*The Purpose of God*<sup>3</sup> is an attempt to give an orderly account of the main theological positions of the Universalist Church. Its secondary title is "That God may be all in all." Its main value is the view which it gives of the history of opinion in the Universalist Church for the last hundred years on God and Man, their relation to each other, and the final issues.

In his *Religious Doubt*<sup>4</sup> Mr Diggle has a subject in which many have an acute, personal interest in these days. It is a subject with many elements in it requiring wide knowledge and sympathetic treatment. It cannot be said that Mr Diggle has all the qualifications for handling it with success. The portion of his book

<sup>1</sup> Back to the Old Testament: An Effort to connect more closely the Testaments; to which is added a series of papers on various Old Testament Books and Subjects. By Anson Bartie Curtis, B.D., Ph.D., Instructor in Hebrew in Tufts College Divinity School. Boston: Universalist Publishing House. Cr. 8vo, pp. 325.

<sup>2</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 228. Price, 6s.

<sup>3</sup> By Joseph Smith Dodge, A.M., M.D., D.D. Boston: Universalist Publishing House. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 257.

<sup>4</sup> Religious Doubt, its Nature, Treatment, Causes, Difficulties, Consequences, and Dissolution. By the Rev. John W. Diggle, M.A., Vicar of Mossley Hill, Hon. Canon of Liverpool, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle. London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. xii. 371. Price, 7s. 6d.

which we find least satisfactory is that in which he deals with the cure for doubt. There is a certain remoteness or lack of "grip" in counsels which recommend jealousy of will, right distribution of energy, spiritual culture, methodising of religion, and the like, as the way to victory over doubt. There is much that is better said on the causes of doubt, on its consequences, and on its treatment. The spirit is good throughout, and there are many just and wise observations. The whole is written in a way to interest and help a large class of readers.

*Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland*<sup>1</sup> is the very appropriate title given to the last series of Chalmers Lectures, now published in a remarkably handsome volume. The author, Dr Norman L. Walker, deals with a large and difficult subject, and has done so with marked success. The circumstances which led to the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, the meeting of the first Free Church General Assembly, the reconstruction of the Finances, the growth of the Church, her exertions in founding Schools and Colleges, the various developments of her enterprise in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in the Foreign Mission field, in the Colonies, on the Continent, among the Jews, in the Sabbath Schools, Welfare of Youth work, and other agencies instituted in the interest of the religious instruction of her young people, all come within the author's plan. The Early Lights and Shadows in the history of the Church, the questions raised by the Cardross case, the movements for Union with the United Presbyterian and other Churches, the rise of the Critical Movement, and other subjects are also reviewed. In the course of so large and varied a story it is inevitable that there will be many points that may be regarded differently by different parties, especially the accounts given of the Critical Movement and the action of the Free Church on questions of Church and State. But Dr Walker has studied fairness and moderation, and has succeeded in avoiding what is calculated to offend. The enumeration which he gives of the contributions made to literature by the Free Church will be a revelation to many, not only of the literary power and productiveness of the Church, but of the industry which has made it possible for so many of its busy ministers to continue their studies and accomplish so much in the way of publication. Dr Walker has had a noble and attractive story to tell. He has told it interestingly, worthily, and with remarkable fairness.

A volume of *Studies in Biblical and Ecclesiastical Subjects*<sup>2</sup> by the late Dean of Dromore, comes to us edited by his son. It shows

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 8vo, pp. 364. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> By the late Very Rev. Theophilus Campbell, D.D., Dean of Dromore. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 275. Price, 6s.

that the author was well read in a wide range of subjects. It contains papers on dogmatic questions such as Inspiration, the Obligation of the Lord's Day, Universalism, the Nature of the Church, Baptism, &c.; historical papers on such topics as St Patrick and the Early Irish Church; and papers on Biblical questions such as the Transfiguration, Hades, "By the hand of a Mediator," "We have an Altar," &c. There is a discussion of the "Spirits in prison," in which the view is taken that by that term we are to understand, not the disembodied souls of wicked men, but the angels referred to in second Peter and Jude as in Tartarus.

Mr Alcée Fortier, Professor of the Romance Languages in the Tulane University of Louisiana, has prepared a volume of very curious interest on *Louisiana Folk-Lore*.<sup>1</sup> The book is published for the American Folk-Lore Society. The tales are given both in the French dialect and in an English rendering. Their nature may be guessed from their titles—Elephant and Whale, Irishmen and Frogs, Mr Monkey, King Peacock, The Singing Bones, The Men who became Birds, John Green Peas, &c.

Dr Edward G. King, of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, issues *A Letter to Old Testament Critics*.<sup>2</sup> His object is not to challenge the results of Old Testament criticism, but to call attention to "certain neglected qualities" which may have a modifying influence on the solution of the great problems. The aim of the writer is a just and proper one, and the Letter itself is carefully written. The instances which it gives, however, of these neglected elements require more consideration. They turn mainly on questions of numbers. Dr King thinks, for example, that the extent to which P in Genesis is constructed on the number *ten* has not been sufficiently noticed. He makes much, too, of a numerical basis for the prophetic documents, which he takes to be *six* for J and E, and *seven* for J<sub>2</sub>.

We have to mention also a study of *St Paul's Vocabulary*,<sup>3</sup> by the Rev. Migron Winslow Adams, M.A., which consists of two theses, dealing in a useful way with St Paul as a former of words; and a new and revised edition of the *Bible Readers' Manual*,<sup>4</sup> issued by the Messrs Collins. The latter contains excellent papers by the late

<sup>1</sup> Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 8vo, pp. viii. 122. Price, \$2.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Pp. 26. Price, 1s.

<sup>3</sup> Hartford Seminary Press, Conn. Pp. 55.

<sup>4</sup> The Bible Readers' Manual, or Aids to Biblical Study, for Students of the Holy Scriptures. Edited by the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., Trinity College, Dublin. London and Glasgow: William Collins' Sons & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 204 and 212.

Dr Schaff, Professor Harper of Chicago, Mr Spurrell, Mr Pinches, Dr Plummer, Principal Whitehouse, and other competent scholars. It has been prepared under the efficient editorial supervision of Dr Wright. Barring its very small type, it makes a very useful companion for the Bible student.

*Genesis and Semitic Tradition*<sup>1</sup> is the title given to a collection of papers on the Creation of the Universe; the Sabbath; the Creation of Man; the Help-meet for Man; the Site of the Garden of Eden; the Temptation of Man; the Serpent of the Temptation; the Cherubim; Cain and Abel; Cainites and Sethites; the Sons of God; the Deluge; the Mighty Hunter; the Tower of Babel. The author gives a brief but interesting statement on the cuneiform documents bearing upon these subjects, and acknowledges the large amount of "valuable material which has been obtained from these records of the past." He points out at the same time that much that is either worthless or positively misleading has been published in connection with these Babylonian-Assyrian discoveries, mistranslations, false conclusions, partial and mistaken quotations. Much of this is due, he thinks, to haste and prepossession as well as to faults which easily occur in the infancy of any branch of knowledge. His object, therefore, is "to attempt the removal of the accumulated mass of rubbish and expose the true material; and, when the work has been accomplished as thoroughly as possible, to subject the genuine materials to careful investigation." Professor Davis is certainly right in what he says of the precipitancy of some of our Assyriologists, and the way in which their work has been prejudiced by their anxiety to get more out of the inscriptions than can be made scientifically good. There is a wide difference, however, between the extremes of certain archaeologists and the idea that the Semitic narratives in Genesis must be quite original. Professor Davis overstates his position at times in arguing that the Hebrew narratives owe nothing to the Babylonian. He shows very clearly and pointedly, however, the remarkable differences between the two series, although he fails to make sufficient allowance perhaps for the spread of ideas and the possibilities of contact between Assyro-Babylonian beliefs and Hebrew thought. He makes out a strong case, however, for the general independence of the Hebrew narratives alongside their community in origin with the Babylonian. His book is ably and carefully written, and is helpful in various ways.

The *Paddock Lectures* for 1894 have for their subject the *Permanent Value of the Book of Genesis as an integral part of the*

<sup>1</sup> By John D. Davis, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Philology and Old Testament History in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N.J. London: David Nutt. Crown 8vo, pp. 150. Price, 4s. 6d.

*Christian Revelation.*<sup>1</sup> They deal, in the first place, with the critical problem in Genesis, on which they take up the reasonable position that the "literary question may be considered on its own merits," and that the "historical questions involved may be considered separately." They pass on to review the literary analyses critically and historically. Then follows a careful examination of the narratives of the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and the Patriarchal Period. The general conclusion to which the writer comes is that the critical analysis requires to be looked at again on broader and deeper grounds, and that the Wellhausen theory cannot stand. The book is written in an excellent spirit. It cannot be said to succeed in many of the points of question or refutation which it attempts to make against the critical explanation of the early Hebrew records; neither does it show a complete grasp of Wellhausen's work. It calls attention, however, to considerations of a larger kind to which regard ought to be paid, and it asserts in a just and proper way the value which in any circumstances belongs to the Book of Genesis as a religious record and a section of revelation.

*The Sweet Singer of Israel*<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a volume on Old Testament subjects which Dr Benjamin Gregory contributes to the *Books for Bible Students* series. The book contains chapters on the Old Testament doctrine of the Future Life, and the New Testament comment on the eighth Psalm. There is also an appendix on "The Greatness of Human Nature as revealed in Scripture." But the main subject is a study of certain select Psalms (Pss. v., vi., vii., viii., ix., xi., xiii., and xviii.). On these Dr Gregory gives us a series of chapters well suited for edification.

Dr Whyte, carrying on the studies which he has made so much his own, and which have been so much appreciated, publishes the *Third Series* of his *Lectures on Bunyan Characters*.<sup>3</sup> The subject this time is the *Holy War*. The book itself is described and estimated, and the pictures and characters which have made it famous are dealt with in Dr Whyte's pointed style. The city of Mansoul and its Cinque Ports, Emmanuel's Land, Mansoul's Magna Charta, and similar topics form a rich field for the exercise of Dr Whyte's gifts. Still more is this the case with My Lord Willbewill, Old Mr Prejudice, Captain Anything, Clip-Promise, Stiff Mr Loth-to-Stoop, the Varlet Ill-Pause, and the other characters

<sup>1</sup> By C. W. E. Body, M.A., D.C.L., Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in the General Theological Seminary, New York. London: Longmans & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. xxi. 230. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Charles Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 274. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Lectures delivered in St George's Free Church, Edinburgh, by Alexander Whyte, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 301. Price, 2s. 6d.

created by Bunyan's genius. Dr Whyte discourses of these like one who is at home with them. He helps us to see what was in the great dreamer's mind, and turns all that is in the book to practical purpose.

We owe very cordial thanks to the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund for publishing a collection of *Notes on the Epistles of St Paul*,<sup>1</sup> gathered from unpublished commentaries at which the late Bishop of Durham had been working. The volume gives the analysis and interpretation of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the first seven chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the first seven chapters also of the Epistle to the Romans, and the first fourteen verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians. There are also valuable indices. Except in the case of the short section of the Epistle to the Ephesians, nothing seems to have been finally prepared by the author himself with a view to publication. For all else the editor had only rough notes left by the Bishop, eked out by what could be got from the note-books of students. The editor's task therefore, was difficult, but it has been well done. The Bishop's own work, fragmentary as it is and unfinished, is of great value. A special feature of it is the attention given to particular terms, βίος, ζωή, ὁψώνια, μετασχηματίζω, ἱλαστήριον, and many more. One of the most interesting discussions is on the ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι of Eph. i. 10, where some weighty considerations are adduced in favour of the simple sense of *summing up* rather than that of *summing up again*.

The second volume of Professor Kirkpatrick's *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*<sup>2</sup> has all the excellent qualities which characterised the first. It is moderate in all that concerns the questions of the Higher Criticism, while it does not shrink from putting the most important of them fairly before the readers. It gives what is best in the philology of the subject. Its notes furnish what is most needed and most useful. Its literary style is attractive. It furnishes all that is of real value in the form of introduction, and it has a studious regard for the devout as well as intelligent understanding of the Psalms. This part embraces the second and third books of the Psalter. The expositions of the best known Psalms are excellent in every way. There are many points of interest in Professor Kirkpatrick's interpretation on which it is impossible to touch at present. The volume is quite up to the high standard of its predecessor. It is one of the most careful and satisfactory contributions which have been made to the very useful series to which it belongs. We look forward with expectation to the speedy

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. ix. 336. Price, 12s.

<sup>2</sup> The Psalms. Books II., III. Edited by A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. Cambridge University Press. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. lxxix. 556. Price, 3s. 6d.

completion of the work. An extended notice of Professor Kirkpatrick's exposition of the Book of Psalms must be reserved till then.

We welcome also another section of Professor Staehelin's *Life of Zwingli*.<sup>1</sup> The author has qualified himself as few men have by previous studies for dealing with a subject like this. The present volume brings the history down to the Reformer's conflicts with the Anabaptists. The story of Zwingli's youth, of the beginnings and progress of the Reformation at Zurich, and the difficulties which originated with the sectaries and the peasants, are told with great fulness and power. We look forward with great interest to the author's study of the theological system of Zwingli and to the completion of this most able and informing history.

### The Didaché, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

*Restored to its Original State from Various Sources, with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes by C. H. Hoole, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford. London: D. Nutt, 1894. 4to, pp. xlii. 90. Price, 2s. 6d. net.*

It is hard to take Mr Hoole's new theory of the *Didaché* quite seriously. The mortar holding it together is far too untempered. It is well-nigh impossible even to conceive the details of the theory with any clearness. Its own author has not succeeded in so doing; for, apart from general vagueness of statement, his versions of the matter in two separate places are at variance, owing to his not having made up his mind as to the relative priority of the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the document styled indifferently "Epitome of the Holy Apostles" (*Kirchenordnung*), "Duæ Viæ," or "Judicium Petri." This being so, we need wonder the less at the theory itself, reactionary and arbitrary as it is. In brief, it amounts to this, that our *Didaché* is an abridgment of a compilation based upon Barnabas, Hermas, and the "Epitome," if not the "Apostolic Constitutions" likewise. But as to the object of the comparatively late author in thus *simplifying* the tradition, including the *omission* of the Apostles' names, we are not enlightened.

VERNON BARTLET.

<sup>1</sup> Huldreich Zwingli: Sein Leben und Wirken, nach den Quellen dargestellt von Dr Rudolf Staehelin, ord. Prof. der Theologie zu Basel. Zweiter Halbband. Basel: Schwabe. Pp. 257-535. Price, M. 480.

## Record of Select Literature.

## I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- DRIVER, Prof. S. R. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy. (*The International Critical Commentary.*) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xciv. 434. 12s.
- BRUCE, Rev. W. The Ethics of the Old Testament. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. xii. 292. 4s.
- DILLON, E. J. The Sceptics of the Old Testament: Job, Koheleth, Agur. London: Isbister. 8vo, pp. 280. 7s. 6d.
- GRINDON, L. H. The Science and Poetry of the Old Testament. London: J. Speirs. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 108. 1s.
- PEMBER, G. H. The Great Prophecies of the Centuries concerning Israel and the Gentiles. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 506. 7s. 6d.
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## The International Critical Commentary.

*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy, by the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895. Post 8vo, pp. xxvi. 434. Price, 12s.*

THE prospectus of this great undertaking is proof of how immense a progress has taken place in Britain and America in the temper and ambition of Biblical criticism since the last great effort of the kind. The latter was denominational, was not abreast even of the English scholarship of the time, and was further left behind by the large advances in historical research and critical method which have distinguished the last twenty-five years. But here we have a design, which is neither ruled by the doctrine nor limited by the scholarship of one Church, which has enlisted men of very various ecclesiastical sympathies, both in America and Great Britain, and promises to be abreast of all the Biblical criticism of its day. While increasing the usefulness of such a design, it does not weaken its scientific character that, by an arrangement to keep distinct the purely textual and philological criticism from the exegesis, the latter is made serviceable to students and preachers unacquainted with Hebrew.

The series could have had no better introduction than this volume from its Old Testament editor. Not only is the subject at once the pivot of the criticism of the Pentateuch and the ground on which law and prophecy meet, but in his treatment of it Dr Driver has set before his colleagues in the series a standard of the highest kind. It is seldom that an editor, who is generally content with furnishing an ideal and a more or less perfunctory revision, provides his authors with so lucid and inspiring an example. There are, it is true, a few details of arrangement which appear to require reconsideration. Is it not possible to give a continuous translation of the text? The outline of the contents of each section is useful, but it could have been more easily dispensed with than a translation, which would not have added greatly to the size of the volume. One feels the absence of this the more when one comes to the poems in xxxii., xxxiii., which Dr Driver has translated throughout. The other contents are well-arranged, and there is a good sense of proportion in their distribution between large and small print. The size of the volume is convenient; and though the glaze on the paper is trying to the eyes in gas-light, the type is large and clear. These, however,

are very minor merits beside the scope and spirit of the Commentary itself. Dr Driver has not given us any brilliant adventure in criticism—on such a field such an enterprise was hardly possible—but he has achieved a commentary of rare learning and still more rare candour and sobriety of judgment. Even with so judicious and comprehensive a work as Dillmann's classic on Deuteronomy, this may be fearlessly compared. It is everywhere based on an independent study of the text and history; its conclusions are as original and as sound; it has a large number of new details; its treatment of the religious value of the book is beyond praise. We find, in short, all those virtues which are conspicuous in the author's previous works, with a warmer and more interesting style of expression.

The introduction consists of five sections. The first treats of the name and gives an outline of the contents. The second relates D to the other documents of the Pentateuch, as in Dr Driver's *Introduction to the Old Testament*. The third is on the "Scope and Character of Deuteronomy, its dominant ideas": it is one of the ablest portions, and, as the subject demanded, the best-written portion, of the whole volume. Note especially how the doctrine of the central sanctuary is shown to be a corollary of the monotheism of the writer. The fifth section, which is the longest, discusses the authorship, date and structure. Dr Driver's conclusions with regard to the latter may be stated first. In the controversy regarding the unity of chs. v.-xxvi. and xxviii., he takes sides with Kuenen and Dillmann against Wellhausen, and defends the unity. He sees no reason why chs. i.-iii. should not also be from the same hand; and against putting iv. 1-40 along with them he feels only one slight inconclusive reason. Ch. xxvii. is a later expansion of a Deuteronomic nucleus. In xxix.-xxxiv. Dr Driver rejects as improbable the transpositions and alterations suggested by Dillmann and Westphal in support of their theory of a final hortatory discourse. *These words* in xxxi. 28 and xxxii. 46 he takes to apply not to that; but in the former verse to the Song in ch. xxxii. and in the latter verse to the whole Deuteronomic discourses. Chs. xxix.-xxx. are a supplementary discourse from the Deuteronomist, except the two passages, xxix. 9-28, xxx. 1-10, the former of which certainly, and the latter with hesitation, are assigned to a later Deuteronomic hand or hands (D<sup>2</sup>). Chs. xxxi.-xxxiv. are assigned, as by most critics, among the various documents of the Hexateuch. The song in ch. xxxii., with its introduction, xxxi. 16-22, is held to have been inserted from an independent source by D<sup>2</sup>, who added xxxi. 28-30; while vers. 1-13, 24-27 are from the original Deuteronomist, and vers. 14-15 are of JE. The Blessing in ch. xxxiii. was incorporated in the

text at an uncertain stage. In ch. xxxiv., as usual, part of 1a, 1b-5a, 6 and 10 are assigned to JE; 11-12 to D<sup>2</sup>; and the rest to P, who is also held to have written i. 3 and xxxii. 48-52.

It will be seen, then, that beyond a few details, there is nothing new suggested as to the structure of the text. The most important feature of the analysis is the very small portion assigned to a second Deuteronomist. Most critics will feel that Dr Driver's prudence is justified: though the matter is not certain, there is no decisive evidence against attributing i.-iv. 40 to the author of v.-xxvi.

On the question of date and authorship there is even less ground for difference of opinion. The question of Deuteronomy was one of the earliest raised among us, and at this time of day it is not worth while going back upon it. It is difficult indeed to understand how any can cling to the Mosaic authorship of the book in face of these facts—that it nowhere avers to be by Moses: that its standpoint is Western Palestine, and that its whole perspective is so plainly that of some centuries after the events it describes. This is even the case with the speeches attributed to Moses. The war with Sihon is more than once described as taking place *in the going forth from Egypt*, which happened forty years before. This could not have been said by one who was speaking to Israel a few weeks or months after the war with Sihon: but it is a most natural description for a writer to whom the whole forty years were foreshortened. To the present reviewer this, the Scripture's own proof of its origin, has always seemed sufficient by itself to decide the question. But on this and all the other evidence the enquirer will find the case stated by Dr Driver with a candour, moderation and justice which take nothing for granted, and exhaust the possibilities on all sides. At the present stage, however, students will probably find even more valuable the very judicious and suggestive pages in which Dr Driver relates the legislation of Deuteronomy to Moses.

Not that the problems of Deuteronomy are by any means exhausted by Dr Driver; nor has he even stated all of them fully. It will perhaps be more useful if instead of reciting further the many virtues of this Commentary, this review notes some points either deserving of reconsideration or that have been altogether omitted. No one will feel that the bottom of the mystery of Deuteronomy has been sounded by the argument which discusses to what part of the seventh century we owe it. Dr Driver does not admit the decisiveness of the evidence for a date in the reign of Josiah; and he repudiates the theory which ascribes it to Hilkiah. He apparently leans to a date under Manasseh or Amon. I do not think he gives sufficient weight to the objection, that in such a case the Book would have reflected the evil conditions of these reigns. He says that "from the nature of the case an exhortation placed in

Moses' mouth could not be expected to contain allusions to the *special* circumstances either of Manasseh's or Josiah's reign." Yet Deuteronomy, in spite of its Mosaic rôle, does reflect the circumstances of other periods—*e.g.*, the distinction between the false and true prophets. The reigns of Manasseh and Amon made apparent to Israel a distinction of a greater kind, which leaves no trace in Deuteronomy—the distinction between the persecuted servants of Jehovah and the tyrannical powers of the nation. The nation is still a unity as it is to the earlier prophets, sinning and repenting as a whole. It seems to me that we are shut up to the alternative of finding a date either in the early reign of Josiah, or before Manasseh; and I do not feel that the case for this earlier date has had full justice done it by Dr Driver. The political and spiritual conditions for such a book were alike present by the end of the reign of Hezekiah. But there is only space to touch upon this, and we must pass to other points.

In connection with the authorship of Deuteronomy, there is one point on which Dr Driver does not touch at either of the two passages which suggest it: xi. 26-30 and xxvii. 1 *ff.* In a book written to enforce one sanctuary and one altar, and these presumably Zion with the Ark, why should the single holy place appointed in Western Palestine for a national service, and the building of an altar, be not Jerusalem, but the northern Ebal and Gerizim? There is a geographical reason for it, of course, but this does not harmonise with the prevailing standpoint of the book in Western Palestine: Ebal and Gerizim are the most prominent landmarks of Western Palestine, as seen from Eastern; and the most natural resort for all who cross Jordan westwards, as appears for instance from Abraham's and Jacob's case. In the case of ch. xxvii., the fact of course may be quoted as an additional proof of the mixed origin of the chapter, though in that case it is singular that the editor who added it did not feel any discrepancy between the provision for an altar in Ebal and the exclusive sanctity claimed for Zion. But in ch. xi. the point is more important. Have we here, in a passage that is suited to a standpoint east of the Jordan, and forms an exception to the rest of the book's jealous avoidance of every sanctuary but one, another token of the many ancient elements that undoubtedly went to make up Deuteronomy?

Canon Driver has no difficulty in showing that the Song in ch. xxxii. is of a date considerably later than Moses; but when he attempts to fix this date in the Chaldean period, I cannot but feel that he has come down either too far or not far enough, and that especially he has not given us an adequate statement of the case for an early date. He is right, of course, in claiming for the possibility of his theory the fact which Stade had already made clear

(Z.A.T.W., 1885), that with its introduction (ch. xxxi. 16-22) and its conclusion (xxxii. 44) the song is independent both of the Deuteronomist and of JE, among fragments of whose narrative it now stands. But his chief ground for assigning the Song to the Chaldean period is the affinity of its general thought to the prophecies of that period. Yet the most striking thing about the Song is the absence of all allusion to the Exile. This is not mentioned even as a possibility in the passage in which it would have been very natural to put it—viz., the catalogue of divine judgments: pestilence, war and wild beasts. Nor is it shadowed at the end of the poem (ver. 43). The worst that can happen to Israel is a state of utter helplessness (ver. 36), such as they were often reduced to by their heathen neighbours. Jehovah's power is promised in redeeming them from this, and not in bringing them back from captivity. Throughout, but especially in ver. 30, *How could one have pursued a thousand*, &c., the enemies described are much more like the smaller heathen states of Syria than the vast empires of Assyria and Babylonia, who again are not necessarily implied by the phrase "a No-People." It is also striking that there is no reference in the Song to a divided kingdom and no prayer expressed for the unity of the people. All this leads to the alternative either of a very early date or of a very late date; and if one felt with Canon Driver that the case for the former was no stronger than he has stated it, one would be forced towards a date after the Exile. The Song reflects nothing of the national fortunes or outlook in the Chaldean period; and, in spite of what Dr Driver says about its theological affinities to the prophets of that period, there is really nothing in its ideas which we do not find, in germ at least, in Hosea.

As to details in this song—ver. 14, *sons of Bashan*, Driver renders by *herds*: *breed* is more proper. Ver. 18—surely both clauses may be interpreted of the mother's function. Ver. 23—*I will sweep up evils upon them* is a closer parallel to *I will use up my shafts against them* than *I will add*, &c. There is an error on p. 360, ver. 15—*God of his salvation* should be *Rock*, &c. On p. 356, —The song's assignment of the origin of Israel and her union with Jehovah to the wilderness, while nothing is said of Egypt, is imputed to the mere wish of the writer to paint a situation which would signalise the divine grace. But such a wish would have been as fully satisfied by describing the deliverance from Egypt. The question is at least raised, and might have been profitably discussed, whether there was a line of tradition in Israel that did not go back for the origins of the people to Egypt; and how far such silence, as the Song holds with regard to the latter, is confirmatory of many other signs we have of the desert origin of Israel, and the improbability of their ever having been a settled tribe before reaching

Canaan. The same question arises in connection with the blessing of Moses in ch. xxxiii.

On the date of the latter Dr Driver has stated all the evidence, and feels it lead him to the age of Jeroboam I. The oral tradition of such psalms, the certainty that the not yet stereotyped form of this one must have taken the impress of more ages than one, renders certainty about its date an absolute impossibility; but Dr Driver is right in emphasising the "ancient" character of the Blessing. Some details may be noticed.

In ver. 2, last clause, Dr Driver retains *from his right hand*. Is it not much more probable that we have here some form of the word for *right*, used in its sense of *south*; or even the corruption of the special form *Teman*, used as a place-name? This would complete the parallel which Wellhausen has already restored in the previous clause by reading *Meribah of Kadesh*: and in the similar passage in Habakkuk (iii. 3) *Teman* is actually mentioned with Paran.

In ver. 22, *Dan is a lion's whelp that leapeth forth from Bashan*, have we not a further proof for the argument, stated in my *Historical Geography*, that not Tell-el-Kadi, but the higher Banias, or its castle actually situate on the Bashan hills, was the early Laish, the subsequent Dan? In ver. 26, in spite of what Dr Driver says of the usual meaning of Ga'avah, its proper English equivalent in the passage is not *dignity* but *majesty*. *Who rideth through the skies in his dignity* is bathos.

The following points seem to me to require addition or correction.

Although the question as to the historical character of the campaign against Og surely comes up in the treatment of the Dt. who alone records it, we are not even told by Prof. Driver that there is such a question. He only remarks that it is "unnoticed" in JE's narrative in Numbers, &c. The phrase that "some of the ruins in Bashan may be reasonably referred to the ancient kingdom of Og," obviously implies that Prof. Driver at least believes there was such a monarch. But he is quite silent as to the probability of the campaign. I think, for geographical reasons which I have stated (*Hist. Geog.*), that it was extremely probable that Israel pushed their conquests as far north as Bashan before crossing the Jordan. But Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, Buhl, and of course Stade, with many others, deny that campaign; and one would have liked to have Prof. Driver's opinion upon the question.

The diseases of Egypt are described as far as our knowledge of them goes; but though the Book expressly says that Israel *dreads them* now in their own land of Palestine, no notice is taken by Professor Driver of the fact of how often the plague in various

forms swept north from Egypt upon the whole of Western Asia. This, of course, is the proper illustration of the relevant passages in Deuteronomy: and not merely the catalogue of diseases which, like ophthalmia, were native to the Nile valley, and do not seem capable of crossing the desert.

There are several points connected with the geography to which I desire to draw attention.

On the general question of the identity of ancient and modern place names in Palestine, I think Professor Driver a little too strict in ruling out cases in which some letters in the modern pronunciation of the Arabic are not the exact equivalents of the corresponding letter in the Hebrew. Thus, for instance, he says, that the כּוּף of Deut. i., which he rightly takes to be the Suphah of Numbers xxi. 14, cannot be the Nakb-es-Safa suggested by Knobel, for the latter is unsuitably situated: "nor does the name agree phonetically (for ص corresponds to ז not to ד). The geographical reason is correct: but not the phonetic. The rule he states is not absolute; for take the case of Salchah. The Hebrew is סלכּה, and the Aramean שלחך, and the Arabic سلخت. As a general rule for dealing with such phonetic resemblances, it is safe, while being strictly suspicious of any suggested identity, to admit the possibility of the substitution for any letter in the ancient Hebrew forms of any other of the same class as the Hebrew. As to Suph or Suphah, Professor Driver appears right in placing it in the vicinity of Moab; and we might note in connection with the name, the second name of the Wady or Seyl Saideh, the upper branch of the Arnou, which was reported to Burckhardt (p. 373) as Wady Safia (صفية).

On page 8 one would have liked a short discussion of the question of the two Ashtoreths, especially in connection with Eusebius' statement (*Onom. καρβαιν*) that "from Edre'i it was not more than six miles." Manifestly it is his other *καρβαιν* that must be identified with the "Tell Ashtere" to which Driver refers.

Page 23. *A people greater and taller than we.* On this feeling of the Israelites about the inhabitants of Canaan, it is useful to note the greater height of the present fellahin (in the opinion of many the descendants of the old Canaanites) compared with the 'Bedouin. This strikes the traveller: the Bedouin themselves feel it. On the ancient Egyptian monuments, too, the settled Syrian is represented as a plump and comfortable person; a bigger and more formidable figure than the lean and meagre Bedawee. The difference is interesting in connection with the question of Israel's origin: *in the desert He found him.*

On page 38. The note on the torrent Zered, and the upper branches of the Arnou needs revisal after Bliss' survey of the district

as given in the P.E.F.Q. for July of this year: pp. 203 *ff*, with a map which disposes the Arnon branches and their names differently from the arrangement on the P.E.F. map and Fischer and Guthe's map.

On page 41. *Caphtor*. Sayce has withdrawn his acceptance of Eber's etymology of the name (*Academy* for 1894: I have not the means at hand of giving the exact reference). There are other alternatives for Caphtor, besides the Delta and Crete, *e.g.*, W. Max Müller's—the east coast of the Aegean. On this verse (Deut. ii. 33) the seats of the Philistines, as given by the Deuteronomist, might be compared with the more southerly position assigned to them in Abraham's time by the Book of Genesis.

On page 42. Kedemoth no doubt derives its name from its easterly position on the edge of the desert.

On page 47 (near the foot), "and its oak forests are frequently alluded to by travellers." The language of the sentence is ambiguous; the phrase quoted reads as if it applied to Hauran, on which there are no forests nor the smallest woods, and, if the ancient architecture be witness, never were. The oaks are all to the west, in Jaulan. Hauran here and elsewhere should be without the article.

On page 49, with Ibrahim Pasha's unsuccessful assault on the Lejá, might be compared the means that Varro and Herod the Great took to reduce it to order (Jos. B. J., i. 20. 4; *Ant.* xv. 10. 1; xvi. 9. 1, 2. 1-3).

On page 54. The bedstead or sarcophagus of Og. "By *iron* is meant probably the black basalt of the country, &c." The Arabs east of the Jordan to this day call basalt "*iron*."

On page 79, the *βοορ* of I. Macc. v. 26 *ff*, is quoted as if the same as Bezer "in the tableland" of Moab. But that campaign of Judas the Maccabee, which is described in I. Macc. v., was waged for the most part further north on the Yarmuk (witness Karnion Ephron, &c.), and Bosor and Bosora mentioned in it, must both be found among the modern Bosra, Busr (el Hariri) and other towns of similar names in that district.

On page 392, the site of the Gilgal of Deut. xi. 30:—*Ebal and Gerizim, are they not beyond Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the sun in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the Arabah, over against Gilgal, beside the oaks or terebinths of Moreh.* Driver adheres to the only meaning compatible with the punctuation of the text, that *in front of Gilgal* describes the position of Ebal and Gerizim; and adds that in spite of the great distance of these mountains, 28 miles north-west from the well-known Gilgal near Jericho, it would be possible for one "who stood on an eminence near Nebo," "speaking loosely and generally," to describe Ebal and Gerizim as "in front of Gilgal." But Moses is represented as

speaking on the plains of Shittim, and it is plainly impossible for any one, even speaking with the greatest looseness and generality, to define Ebal and Gerizim as in front of Gilgal, which lies just across the river from his standpoint. Not even "the eminence near Nebo," which is brought in without justification, could render the phrase possible. That being so, either Dillmann's view must be adopted, that some now unknown Gilgal near Shechem is meant (Driver rightly discards the Jiljilia, 13 miles south from Gerizim near Sinjil); or else the punctuation must be amended. Now this is so readily done, and when done makes such admirable sense, that it seems to me the only alternative open to us. Read, with Colenso, *the Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah over against Gilgal*, and you get both grammar and a sense true to history.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

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### **The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.**

*Edited by Paul Haupt. Part III., The Book of Leviticus, by S. R. Driver and H. A. White. Part VIII., The Books of Samuel, by K. Budde. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London: Nutt. Post 8vo, pp. 32 and 99. Price, 2s. 6d. and 6s. 6d. net.*

THE editors of Leviticus have had a less composite Book to treat than some of the others are, and the use of colours is less striking. Three different shades have been found sufficient: black for the body of the book (PC), yellow for the somewhat earlier Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.), and brown for some elements that have been inserted later into the Priests' Code. These additions are ch. iv., vi. 23, and x. 16-20.

Though the changes in the Text are not on a large scale, a multitude of small alterations have been made or suggested, which raise interesting questions, some of reading and some of syntax, and furnish occasion for a great deal of instructive annotation. An important note on the use of the pronoun הוּא as epicene shews that this use cannot be regarded as an archaism, though no satisfactory explanation of it has been suggested. It is chiefly, though not exclusively, in the Pentateuch that the usage occurs. A good number of anomalous usages are found in Leviticus. The tendency prevailing at present is strongly in favour of obliterating these anomalies and bringing the punctuation into line with what is usual. It is possible, however, that the effect of this rather indiscriminate tendency may be to obliterate real elements of variation. The compass of the literature is so small that anomalous forms may not unnaturally appear large in proportion. The

occurrence nine times of the form *el* for the plural demonstrative is not quite satisfactorily explained in these notes, by saying that it "can hardly be due to any but accidental causes." An accident that happens nine times acquires another name. It is possible certainly that the short form was pronounced like the longer one *ellēh*, but it is not likely. It is more probable that the unaccented final *eh* was dropped, as it often was even when under the accent. The note on Ezra v. 15 seems to shew that the Massoretes at least pronounced the long and short forms differently, though it may always be made a question whether the Massoretic tradition truly reflects the spoken language. Considering the long time the language had been dead, and its exclusive use in the recitative of the Synagogue, it can scarcely have done so in all particulars. An interesting case is the occasional pointing of the infin. hiph. with the vowel *i* like the perf. instead of the normal *a*. The present editors would point with *a* wherever the word cannot be syntactically regarded as a perf.—"wherever the syntax does not permit the word to be treated as a perfect—as is the case, for instance, in xiv. 46—the punctuation *ha* should be restored" (note on xiv. 43). The note on xiv. 46 shews that the somewhat ambiguous "as is the case" means, as it *does* permit in xiv. 46. The two illustrations added to the note are not quite happy, as Lev. xxv. 48 is a very unusual construction, and Jer. xl. 1 is in ordinary texts at least an infin., not a perf. Probably scholars will generally agree with the principle which the editors adopt. Nothing like certainty is attainable. There is little doubt that the Massoretic punctuation reflects a tradition. The question is, How old is the tradition? Does it date from the synagogal reading, or does it go back to the spoken language? The spoken language had already thinned the *a* to *i* in the perfect, and that this process should have been occasionally extended to the infin. in the popular mouth is anything but unnatural. Any explanation of the particular instances is no doubt difficult to give, but perhaps not more difficult on the assumption that the variation is ancient than on the supposition that it is modern. The student will find these annotations instructive in regard both to text and language.

The tints in the Books of Samuel are numerous, and unless one has a good eye for colours may prove confusing. On the third page of the cover, however, examples of the colours are referred to, and this will be helpful. The example given of *yellow*, 1 Sam. xx. 23-26, should evidently be 2 Sam. A glance into this volume will at once show how extraordinarily composite in the view of modern scholarship the text of the Books of Samuel is. Probably also it will awaken some incredulity in the mind of the reader. He must be content to wait till the Commentary, of which this Text is the

forerunner, appears, when the grounds of the critical analysis of the sources will be laid before him.

The Hebrew text of Samuel being more than usually faulty has engaged the attention of many scholars. Besides the Commentaries, such as those of Thenius and Klostermann, valuable monographs have been written on the subject by Wellhausen and Driver. The corrections of Kittel in Kautzsch's Bible, though conservative and carried little further than to make the text readable, also offer a useful contribution. Through these efforts a certain consensus on a large number of points had already been attained. Professor Budde however goes to work more fundamentally than any of his predecessors, and has produced a book which, by its thoroughness, acuteness and scholarship, may be almost regarded as final. Of course in all emendations, except such as are a mere transcription of some witness such as the Greek, there is a certain subjective element, and the sanguine feelings of the emendator will not always be responded to by his cold-blooded reader. Professor Budde does not hesitate to differ brusquely from other scholars, and they will no doubt reserve their liberty to differ from him. The reading adopted from Klostermann in 1 Sam. i. 9, וַתֵּזַח אַחֲרֶיהָ, *she left her food behind her*, has not that ancient smell peculiar to genuine Hebrew, while the use of *okel*, food, in the sense of concrete "provisions" which one has on a definite occasion, is surely uncommon. An example of the levelling tendency already referred to is found in i. 12, where the anomalous וְהִיא is altered to וְהִי, a change made to rule all the other cases. The process of corruption suggested by Budde might well be right in a single instance, but that it should have occurred in so many instances is beyond belief. The compass within which the notes had to be compressed has given them sometimes a curtness which may tax younger readers, and occasionally an over-decisiveness which should be recognised as due to the circumstances and discounted. Young scholars, like women, are apt to confound decisiveness with power and right. On the other hand, cautious heads are repelled by peremptoriness, which makes them obstinate and contradictory. It would be a mistake in them, however, to assume without examination that all those passages in the Massoretic text which Budde describes as "absurd," "nonsensical," or "impossible," have probably nothing wrong with them.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

**Anecdota Oxoniensia.**

*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees. Edited from four MSS. by R. H. Charles, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895. Pp. xxvii. 184. Price, 12s. 6d.*

THE Book of Jubilees is so called from its chronological method. It computes time by Jubilee periods of forty-nine (not fifty) years. Each Jubilee period again comprises seven weeks (of years), and each week seven years. This method of computation seems peculiar to the author, the usual way of reckoning being by generations (though *cf.* Dan. ix.). The method was not unnatural, as the Jubilee was the first considerable division of years, and it suited the author's curious genius for invention or fiction, and enabled him to tell in what day in what month in what year in what week of years in what Jubilee each of the antediluvians and patriarchs married, had a son born to him, christened him and made a feast, which is some feast celebrated by Jews of the author's own day. All this history is recorded in the heavenly tablets, and is revealed to Moses on the Mount by the Angel of the Presence, for in heaven they count by Jubilees also, and have kept the Sabbath and the feasts since the world began. The Book is thus a paraphrase in one view and a compend in another of the Book of Genesis and the early chapters of Exodus. From its giving much of the contents of Genesis in a compendious form, it was known as Little (*λεπτή*) Genesis, Leptogenesis, or Microgenesis. Sometimes the story is told in the words of Genesis, at other times the narrative is a paraphrase with many adornments of a Haggadic kind of passages in that book. How many of these amplifications were current already in the author's day and have merely been preserved by him, and how many are due to his own rather luxuriant imagination, would be difficult to say. He explains the serpent's ability to talk in Eden by the supposition that at that time all the beasts had the gift of speech, of which they were deprived for the bad use they made of it. More ingenious is his proof of the literal fulfilment of the threat, In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die. In the celestial reckoning a day is 1000 years, and Adam, who lived 930 years, thus died before the day was done. There is much of this trifling in the Book. More important are the edifying speeches put into the mouths of the ancients, which, though tedious, reflect the religious views of the author and his contemporaries. Even these would need to be used with caution if one were drawing conclusions in regard to prevailing sentiments, for there is a tone of exaggeration in many things, *e.g.*, in the estimate of Israel and its place before God and in the world, and in the dislike expressed of other nations, which may be the author's own, who, though of the Pharisaic school, goes his own way

in some respects, as in his view of immortality, which is more that of the Book of Wisdom than of the general Pharisaism. And in other respects the Book does not reflect actual usage, but gives ideal directions, *e.g.*, as to the kinds of wood to be used at the altar. The view was at one time expressed that the Book proceeded out of Samaritan circles. Mr Charles' scholarly investigations into the affinities of the versions of Genesis appear to set this view conclusively aside: while the text of Jubilees often coincides with the Samaritan in company with other versions, except in one doubtful instance it nowhere agrees with the Samaritan alone in opposition to other versions.

The term "Hebrew" used by Mr Charles in his title after ancient authorities might of course mean Aramaic. It seems more probable that the Book was written in Hebrew proper. Jerome refers to some Hebrew words which he says he had nowhere come across but in the Book of Jubilees. The date of the Book is usually assigned to the first century B.C., or more exactly, to about the middle of this century. Jerome was acquainted with the original, which, however, has perished. Fragments of a Syriac version remain, which Mr Charles argues may have been made from the Hebrew. A few pieces also remain of the Greek translation, and it is from the Greek that the Ethiopic version here edited has been made, as well as a Latin version which exists to the extent of about a fourth of the Book. All these fragments have been reproduced by the editor either in the body of his work or in appendices, in particular the Ethiopic and Latin in a critically emended text. Four MSS. have been used in forming the Ethiopic text, which are cited as A, B, C, D. For his translation in Ewald's *Jahrbücher* ii. iii. Dillmann used C, a transcript procured by Krapff the missionary, and for his edition of the Ethiopic text, 1859, only C and D were available, both characterised by Mr Charles as very inferior MSS. The present editor reposes principally on A and B, or on one of them, B being the most trustworthy. In addition to these MSS., very careful use has been made of the various versions of Genesis.

The Book of Jubilees is of importance in various ways. First, it is an interesting reflection of ways of thinking current in the century before our era. The religious views and sentiments of the time are to be gathered mainly from the lengthy exhortations to their children put into the mouths of the patriarchs and other ancients, though, as has been said, some care must be used in discriminating between what is peculiar to the author and what may be held as general. Secondly, the Book has an important place in the complicated question of the chronology of Genesis. It is probable that one object of the author of the Book was to do something to rectify this chronology. The bearing of the Book on this question has been

well estimated by Kuenen in his Essay on the Massoretic text, republished by Budde in his *Abhandlungen*. No doubt the present editor of the Jubilees will have something to say on the subject in his forthcoming Commentary. And, thirdly, the Book has its place in the textual criticism of the Book of Genesis. Mr Charles is disposed to rate its value in this respect very high. His very interesting tabulation of agreements and disagreements of the Book with other versions confirms the fact that Hebrew MSS., in the centuries before and after our era, do not fall into recensions. While they varied from each other, their variations may be called promiscuous. Of course, great caution will be necessary in accepting the testimony of the Jubilees when it coincides with the Sept. In the first place, the translator into Greek might not unnaturally allow the Sept., with which he was familiar, to influence him in expression, or even in reading. Again, the Ethiopic translator would be under the temptation to assimilate his renderings to the Ethiopic Bible, and as this was a translation from the Sept., a new Greek influence would thus be felt. And, finally, the Greek Jubilees, on which the Ethiopic translator worked, would not be without corruptions, some of them due also to Sept. influence. Mr Charles is quite alive to these possible sources of error. But after these infiltrations of foreign influence have been guarded against, respect must be had to many things—*e.g.*, to the varying idioms of different languages, in reasoning back to the text of the Hebrew Jubilees. An example may be cited. In ch. xvii. 5 (Gen. xxi. 11), the Latin reads, *pessimus visus est sermo*, no doubt a rendering of the Greek (so Sept. in Gen. xxi. 11), and Mr Charles ventures the conjecture that the Hebrew Jubilees, and even the Book of Genesis, may have originally stood יִרְאֶה רָע. But such words are not Hebrew diction at all; the “seemed” is due merely to Greek idiom.

Mr Charles might have spoken with greater magnanimity of Dillmann. Even if all that he says of Dillmann’s uncritical procedure in regard to the text be true, it will not be forgotten that Dillmann was a pioneer, or a discoverer, in Ethiopic learning, and it is greatly due to his work that there are now such distinguished scholars as Mr Charles in this department. Dillmann’s mind, too, was formed before the strong current in the direction of textual criticism set in, and it was not unnatural that he should continue to manifest more interest in the material contents of a work than in what was outward and formal. It is possible that Dillmann, like older scholars, may have adhered too closely to the principle, the Massoretic text against everything else; but the newer principle, Anything against the Massoretic text, is certainly not less one-sided. Mr Charles’ conclusions, when affecting this text, would need always, before acceptance, to be carefully looked into. A. B. DAVIDSON.

## The Messiah of the Apostles.

By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.  
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895. Pp. xv. 562. Price, 7s. 6d.

THIS work forms the central volume of a series which Dr. Briggs began nearly ten years ago with *Messianic Prophecy*, which was published in 1886. Last year, after this long break, he gave us *The Messiah of the Gospels*; and this has been followed very speedily by the larger volume now before us. No doubt the preparation of materials for these second and third volumes went on to a large extent simultaneously; and hence the fact that only a few months have elapsed between the times of their publication. Moreover, there has been no distracting crisis, such as intervened between the appearance of the first volume in the series and the second, to draw away the author from his studies to the necessary but unpleasing duty of self-defence. Considering the grievous distractions to which Dr Briggs has been subjected by the ill-advised prosecutions of which he has been made a victim, his productiveness is amazing. He tells us that the substance of this volume was cast into form for publication several years ago. "But the whole has been rewritten during the past year. So much more has been learned about the Christ of the Apostles during these months that it seems to me that I knew little before. This experience makes it altogether probable that there is still more to be learned by myself and by others." No student of Scripture will be disposed to question the truth of that.

If he is spared, Dr Briggs hopes to add two more volumes to this series—one on *The Messiah of the Church* and the other on *The Messiah of the Theologians*. We shall have to wait some time for these: but it is probable that when they are produced the present volume will remain both in chronological order and in importance the central volume of the whole work. More, perhaps, than any book which he has yet published, the author himself would regard this one as representing the best results of a life devoted to the study of theological questions, especially such as come under the head of Biblical Theology; and those who know his previous publications, and the unhappy controversy in which some of them have involved him, will know what they may expect to find in the present instalment. He tells us frankly that he does not write for those timid students who cannot give a welcome to any theological views which are out of harmony with traditional interpretations and deductions. "The author has done his best to turn away from the

Christ of the Theologians and of the Creeds and of the Church, and to see the Messiah as he is set forth in the writings of the apostles. He has made every effort to see the Messiah as he appeared to each writer in each separate writing" (p. ix.).

The arrangement of the book is similar to that adopted in the *Messiah of the Gospels*. Starting with the Messianic idea of the Jews and of the Jewish Christians in the first days of the Christian Church, Dr Briggs works carefully through the Christology of St. Paul as it is unfolded in the four groups of his Epistles; after which the Epistle to the Hebrews is examined in a similar manner. This brings us to about the middle of the volume. Then comes what may be called the most characteristic feature in the contents. Seven chapters out of a total of eighteen are devoted to the analysis of the Apocalypse, and an examination of the Messiah as presented in the different sections of that perplexing book. In revising his lectures upon it, Dr Briggs was converted to the documentary hypothesis, and has endeavoured to find a solution to a problem which may be regarded as one of the most difficult in the New Testament. He believes, not that he has succeeded, but that he has made a real contribution towards a solution.

In the *Presbyterian Review* for January 1888, Dr Briggs criticised the documentary theory of Vischer (which had already won the favour of Dillmann, Harnack, and Schürer), and rejected it. Since then the continued labours of the Dutch scholar Völter and of the German Spitta, combined with his own independent study, have led him to modify his view. He still maintains the unity of the book; but he would attribute that unity, not to a single author who composed the whole, but to the final editor of a series of documents which underwent a process of editing three or four times. This final editor is supposed to have taken a number of apocalypses which were already in circulation: to have combined them in a series of seven Visions, each with seven scenes in each Vision; and to have prefixed a prologue and added an epilogue to the compound. But the process of combination has not been the simple process of stringing together the original elements. If that had been the case, analysis would be very much easier than it is. The beginning of some of these apocalypses has been thrust into the middle of others, and the whole has been rearranged with a view to symmetry. Hence the disentanglement of the component parts is a perplexing problem which does not admit at present of satisfactory solution. But Dr Briggs believes that the documentary theory is the one which holds the field.

The main outlines of his scheme are as follows. Six different documents are embedded in the Apocalypse as we have it: these are the Seven Epistles, Seven Seals, Seven Trumpets, Seven Bowls, the

Beasts, and the Dragon. These last two are the oldest, and may be assigned to the reign of Caligula, and perhaps they were very soon combined as one document. The Trumpets and the Seals may also have been combined soon after their production. At any rate they are earlier than the apocalypse of the Bowls which presupposes them. The Seven Bowls in its original form belongs to the reign of Galba; in its latest to that of Domitian. The apocalypse of the Seven Epistles seems to have been the last of the series, and its date may be anything from Nero to Domitian.

Such, then, are the *disjecta membra* of the Revelation as we have it. How did they get into their present harmonious shape? Some such genesis as the following is imagined. A first editor puts the Seals, Trumpets, and Bowls together; a second editor prefixes the Epistles to this triplet; a third editor appends the Beasts and the Dragon, which had previously been coupled by someone else; and then, at the end of the first century or early in the second, the fourth and final editor works up the whole. To him are assigned the first three verses in the book and the last two, together with a variety of small insertions throughout. Is this last editor the Apostle and Evangelist? That is left uncertain. "The Apocalypse of John is the last apocalypse of Jesus; and that is equally true whether it comes from the Apostle John or an unknown John, whether it was composed by one author or is a compilation of several apocalypses." It is obvious that if a theory of this kind is the true explanation of the genesis of the Revelation, then the early and the late dates which have been assigned to it may both be correct. The earlier portions may be prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the later may be as late as Domitian or Trajan.

But a good deal of patient investigation is still necessary before a theory of this elaborate character can be accepted as more than tentative. There are somewhat similar theories already in the field, notably those of Völter and Spitta; and the last word has not yet been spoken about them. It is only by the careful testing of different solutions, and the gradual elimination of what cannot be correct, that the truth will be reached; and students of the Apocalypse will be grateful to Dr Briggs for his carefully-worked contribution to the problem. If he accomplishes nothing more than proving to some of his readers that there is nothing in such theories which ought to shock a reverent student of Holy Scripture, he will have achieved something well worth doing.

The conclusion of the analysis of the Apocalypse brings us near to the close of the volume. Three chapters still remain. One of these considers the Messiah of the Epistles of St. John; but it is almost entirely occupied with the First Epistle. Dr Briggs rightly expresses doubt as to the correctness of the common view that the

water and the blood in 1 John v. 6, refer to the blood and water which flowed from the pierced side of the crucified Saviour. "It is possible this event was in the mind of the writer. If so, it was only as a suggestion of vastly more important facts. It is most natural to think of the water of baptism, the blood of the cross, and the gift of the Holy Spirit. The water of the baptism of Jesus which attested him as the Son of God, the blood of the cross which attested him as the Lamb of God, the descent of the Holy Spirit that attested him as the enthroned Messiah,—these three facts and events present concurrent testimony of the greatest value. These three also attest to the individual Christian that Jesus is the Messiah, for the Christian receives the water of baptism, the blood of the Lord's supper, and the anointing of the divine Spirit, all concurring witnesses that he is a child of God and that Jesus is his Saviour" (p. 492). That is rational exegesis.

The next chapter (xvii.) considers the Messiah of the Prologue of the Gospel of St. John; with which is combined the Messianic passages Jn. iii. 16-21 and 31-36. Dr Briggs regards both these as comments of the Evangelist, not as continuations, the first of the words of Christ, and the second of the words of John the Baptist. This point can never be determined with certainty, but it does not affect the interpretation.

The concluding chapter (xviii.) sums up the argument of the whole volume. The readers of it will join in the hope that the author may have health and strength to complete the task, of which he has now accomplished the largest and most important portion.

A. PLUMMER.

**Edward Harold Browne, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester,  
and Prelate of the most noble order of the Garter :  
A Memoir.**

*By G. W. Kitchin, D.D., Dean of Durham. London: John Murray, 1895. Pp. 519.*

THIS memoir is a sign of the times. It is the biography of an Evangelical High Churchman, written by a Broad Churchman. How, then, can it possibly be a fair and truthful portrait? The answer to this question is, that it is constructed on what we may call the modern principle of the "standpoint"; the biographer puts himself in his hero's place, and makes it his business to show how well his life answered to the principles and aims which underlay it.

No man could write a bishop's biography after this fashion who did not agree with the subject of it in most matters of practice, and especially in his view of what the great business of a clergyman's life should be, while differing, it may be, in many theoretical questions. Undoubtedly the result in the present instance is a highly appreciative portrait of Bishop Browne, without any disposition to make light of his Evangelicalism or his High Churchism. We close the book with a vivid idea of the bishop as a humble, loving, spiritual Christian, as a cautious, peace-loving, laborious minister of Christ, and at the same time a firm believer in the divine origin and supreme importance of the Episcopal order, and in the power and blessing conferred by her Head on the Episcopal Church, and through her ministrations, on all who have the good fortune to enjoy them.

It is interesting to notice how Dean Kitchin views the different types of character that appear in the ranks of Christians, and especially the difference between the conservative and the advancing theologian. He says that men of power may be roughly divided into two classes: those who in early life are laid hold of by great general truths to which they constantly adhere, and which become the tests or standards by which all else is tried; and those who are ever open to add to their stock of knowledge, to test their convictions, and modify their judgments; these seem often to be swayed by the current of events, and get the credit of being unstable, "ever learning, never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." The first are men of deductive, the other of inductive principles. The Bishop was of the former class: it is implied that his biographer is of the latter. We suspect that whatever attractions there may be in the openness of mind and honesty of purpose of the latter class, they are subject, as leaders of thought, to a great disadvantage if they want those fixed principles and stable foundations which sooner or later all inquiring spirits feel to be needful for the great work of life. Openness of mind and freedom of movement are excellent and beautiful within certain limits; but without a backbone of fixed convictions they are liable to give birth to a somewhat molluscos Christianity.

Harold Browne was like Dr Newman and Mr Robertson of Brighton, in having been brought up under evangelical influences, and in having come in these circumstances deeply under the power of religion. And in the main he retained his evangelical views. But his high notions of sacramental efficacy led to a certain modification; for, believing that in baptism we are made partakers of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, he could not but admit that we might fall from grace, and that such falling from grace was a common occurrence. We cannot but regard it as a weak joint in the

bishop's armour that he attached so much importance to certain external or mechanical elements of religion. All through his life the "validity of orders" was a most vital principle; most earnestly was it discussed, for instance, in connection with the Moravian Church; but the question was not whether by the blessing of God resting on their labours the Moravians were proved to have had the seal and approval of Christ, but whether or not they were linked to the mechanical chain of episcopal ordination. The whole ecclesiastical position of Bishop Browne was dominated by this question of valid orders; and in judging of it we cannot but hold him to have erred in the weight he ascribed to the mechanical as against the spiritual, the accidental as against the essential, the human as against the divine.

Besides his parochial work in the diocese of Exeter (where, in virtue of his High Churchism, combined with his Evangelicism, he enjoyed the friendship and countenance, even during the Gorham controversy, of the notorious Bishop Philpotts), he filled two academical and two episcopal positions, as Vice-Principal of Lampeter Theological College in Wales, Norrisian Professor of Theology at Cambridge, Bishop of Ely, and Bishop of Winchester. Twice over he was very near getting the primacy; but on the first occasion Dr Tait was the Prime Minister's choice, and on the second Dr Benson. It was the general feeling at the second vacancy that in point of qualification Dr Browne was the best man going, but being seventy-one, he was deemed too old.

All through his episcopal career he was most indefatigable in every department of organization, and indeed he was a main instrument of inaugurating that new regime of episcopal activity which contrasts so strongly with previous languor. But he found the office of a bishop anything but easy. He was a timorous man, and many of the movements of the day filled him with dread. We are surprised to find him haunted with the spectre of disestablishment as a thing not impossible even in his day. But his fear was not for his own sake, for, chafing under Erastian bonds, he held that disestablishment would be a great relief to the bishops. But he thought it would be a great loss to the cause of religion, which needed the support and glory of an established church. Personally humble and unassuming, he still believed that a Bishop's magnificence was important, and that the income of his see was given to keep up the grandeur which from time to time brought him into contact with the highest of the realm. This feeling gave a certain haughtiness and air of condescension to his demeanour, as his biographer acknowledges. It is another surprise to the unsophisticated reader to find him oppressed by financial tightness, which may have suggested the gift, by subscription, at his golden

wedding, of a few hundred pounds, which, however, he devoted to a charitable object.

He had reached his eightieth year when failing strength constrained him in 1890 to resign his bishopric. One year after he died, amid the deep regret of his friends and universal tokens of public esteem.

It is somewhat disappointing to those outside the Church of England that this biography, like that of Archbishop Tait, is occupied almost exclusively, and of purpose, with ecclesiastical affairs. Obviously, both as an earnest Christian and as a family man, Bishop Browne's life had other sides, more interesting and instructive to the general reader. Of these, however, we have hardly a glimpse. His biographer wishes us to understand that he had a vein of humour, and he gives us a single instance.

"He was an admirable teller of a ghost-story, just because he had so much belief in it all, and had a fellow-feeling with the ghost, and felt that in his own case the boundaries between this present life and the larger world around might at any moment be overstepped. He delighted in the respectable ghosts attached to Farnham Castle. When strolling over the Castle with a friend, pointing to some winding stairs, he said, 'This is the place where the ghost goes up and down; but we have never seen it, though that room (pointing to a door) is my son's bedroom. But then, he is a lawyer, and is not a bit afraid of it, for ghosts don't like lawyers, because they always wish to argue the point out with them, and a ghost's brains are rather weak; nor indeed do they like curates, because they are sure to ask subscriptions to the parish charities, and that puts a poor ghost at a sad disadvantage.'"

W. G. BLAIKIE.

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### **Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum.**

*Von Lic. Gustav Anrich, Privatdozent in Strassburg. Göttingen: Vandenhœck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 237. Price, 5s. 6d.*

THIS is a treatise which, published subsequently to *Nekyia* already noticed, should be read side by side with it, as in some respects an amplification and a corrective. It is a full and careful discussion of the connection between Christianity and the ancient mysteries, that "roof and crown" of failing Paganism; and these not in

themselves alone, but as they stood in relation to cotemporary and kindred manifestations ; for example, the spiritual culture of the Cæsar period, ritual purification, magic, and the Neo-Platonic "Telestik," as well as the religio-mystic tendency of the later philosophy.

The author's process is thoroughly scientific. After stating the problem, and sketching the history of its treatment from Casaubon in the middle of the seventeenth century down to Hatch and Heinrich Holtzmann at the end of the nineteenth, he traces, in his first part, the development of the Greek mysteries, with their promise of future blessedness, and describes the essence of their cult, its "cathartic" element, its "ecstasy" of religious feeling, and the secrecy of its ritual, though not of its doctrine. He then passes on to the mysteries in the Cæsar period, and shews how they affected the Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic philosophy, helping the Greek idea of the natural deification of the human to subserve the yearning for fellowship with the divine, and so for ceremonial purity as a condition of future felicity. In his second part, he deals with preliminary Gnosticism as influenced by the mystery-worship combined with magic ; and the presuppositions and tendencies which led the heathen and the heathen-Christian to regard in the light of mysteries the Baptism and the Lord's Supper of Christian worship ; till Christianity, as a whole, became more and more a mystery in the hands of the Alexandrian Gnosis, with its mystery terminology, its secret discipline, its contrast of initiated and uninitiated, its catechumenate and its baptism instruction, and its attribution of magical effects to baptism and the supper as a *viaticum*, to baptism as purifying from sin and as exorcising demons, and to the various excrescences that attached themselves in due course to the pristine simplicity of the two Christian rites—the anointing, the lustral salivation, the feet-washing, the clothing in white, the crossing, the taper-bearing, the use of milk and honey, the hand-washings, the body-bathings, the cleansings of houses and fields, and the like. In all these cases he seeks to ascertain how far the influence of the mysteries may be detected in the work of origination or of development.

The positions which the author finally, and with apparent justification, takes up, are these. He traces the mystery-element found in the Christianity of the early centuries not to a direct dependence on the definitely organised Greek mysteries, with their feasts and lustrations, but to a complex collaboration of various influences of which these mysteries formed but a fragment, and of some of which they were themselves in part the product and expression. He argues that in determining the origins of Christian worship and practice we have to do not with a deliberate borrowing

from mystery sources, or a deliberate accommodation to the religious speech of heathendom, but rather with a process naturally and unconsciously fulfilling itself; a religio-psychological process, realising itself in a sphere of religious feeling and experience which was dominated in ever increasing measure by the mystic tendency of an expiring antiquity. Christianity offered analogies and a "platform" for mystery teaching, terminology and practice, especially as handled by Neo-Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism; partly because it was, in one aspect, a knowledge of truths revealed to faith, and partly because it had two sacred acts, or sacraments — baptism and the supper — wearing the garb of mysteries to the heathen and heathen converts of those times. Neither the revealed truths nor the sacred acts, as set forth in the books of the New Testament, were derived from the mysteries; and, indeed, any assimilation by Paul and the other Apostles to the "mysteries of the demons" was entirely incongruous with their education, faith and feeling. Anrich quotes as a "curiosity" Professor Percy Gardner's attempt to find the origin of the Pauline (and so the Synoptic) idea of the Lord's Supper in the central point of the Eleusinian feasts,—the sacred repast of which the initiated partook, and by means of which they had communion with the gods. "Of this," Anrich affirms, "nothing is known." He dismisses also as merely fanciful and without evidence Pfeiderer's derivation of Paul's mystic views of baptism, the new birth and the new creature, from the "sacramental bath" and "new man" and "new name" in the cult of the same mysteries. Nothing can be more reasonable than the case which Anrich makes out for the Jewish and Christian origin of the New Testament ideas of the supper, baptism and the new birth by means of water and the Spirit, and for the simple explanation of the New Testament *μυστήρια* as the purposes of God, at first hidden, but one after another revealed; such as, for example, and pre-eminently, the purpose of extending salvation to the Gentiles.

The book is, above all things, a sane book. The author restrains his imagination with the bit and bridle of evidence. He does not leap at alluring and unverified heathen parallels as though they were, all at once, Christian origins; and he endeavours to fix accurately the boundary lines between the simplicity of the New Testament teaching and the corruptions of later speculation, ritualism and superstition.

J. MASSIE.

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**The Song of Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah.**

*By Walter F. Adeney, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History, New College, London. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. viii. 346. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THE two poetical writings that are expounded in this volume require to be handled artistically and sympathetically. At the same time, owing to the influence of past interpretations, one at least of them requires to be treated with severe simplicity. Professor Adeney brings to his task a mind endowed with the literary touch, a fertile imagination, and above all, a determination to keep within the bounds of reason. The general reader, whose love for the O.T. has been at least hampered by the surface difficulties suggested by the Song of Solomon, will read with a feeling of glad release this exposition of the Song, and whether he agrees with it in all details or not, he will heave a sigh of satisfaction as the story of the poem is unravelled in language as exquisitely romantic as reasonably real. To his exposition of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Professor Adeney brings higher qualities. He seizes the cardinal points of the theology of the poem and expounds them in brief lectures that are pointed with modern ideas and made to teach present-day truth. He illustrates the ideas of the writer by allusions gathered from all departments of literature and art. Altogether this volume deserves to take a high place in the useful series of the Expositor's Bible to which it belongs.

Of the 346 pages of which the volume consists, only 59 deal with the Song of Songs, whereas 287 are given to the Exposition of Lamentations. This is probably as it should be.

Several questions that rise almost instinctively to the lips of the average reader of the Song of Songs have to be answered in an Exposition. First comes the question: Are the hero and heroine of this dramatic poem lovers, or do they represent Christ and the Church? The reader will probably judge this book or any other on the Song by its answer to this question. Nor does Professor Adeney leave us in doubt. While allowing with the heartiest goodwill, to all whom it may benefit, the use of the Song as an *illustration* of the Love of Christ for the Church, he repudiates the notion that that is the *teaching* of the poem. He traces the allegorical interpretation from its first father Origen downwards, and shows that the authority for this method goes no further back than the time of the Fathers. Again the reader asks, Is this a Palestinian love-song? and if so, why is it included in the Canon of the O.T.? It is an exquisite poem extolling true and faithful love. It presents in dramatic form a real or imaginary incident

connected with the Royal Harem at Jerusalem. A peasant maiden has been seized by the myrmidons of the king to be added to the number of the monarch's wives. But this maiden has a peasant lover in her home in the north, and her heart turns fondly to him and is steeled against the overtures of the king, who makes love to her. She passes before her mind the deep true love of her rustic swain, and contrasts it with the studied love-making of the king, and her true heart prefers the simplicity of her peasant lover's methods to the gilded pride of the palace which the king offers her, and she rejects his advances. Professor Adeney suggests that the poem was written by a northern writer to rebuke the luxury and lasciviousness of the court of Jerusalem, and that the main purpose of the poem is to glorify pure love and monogamy over lust and polygamy.

To the question, Did Solomon write this poem? Professor Adeney gives a negative reply. A good deal of the Solomon literature does not belong to him. At all events it is inconceivable that the polygamous Solomon should have written this exquisite glorification of pure love, unless indeed he had been converted to monogamous ideas, as some assert, but as none can prove. The ethical teaching of the poem entitles it to a place in the Canon.

When we turn to the Lamentations we find Professor Adeney at his best as a preacher to the present day. This book is a collection of five elegies treating of the desolation and hardships of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Each elegy consists of twenty-two verses, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. The first four are arranged as acrostics, the third is a triple acrostic. The elegies are anonymous. It is probable that they were not written by Jeremiah, but we may assume that they are the work of one hand. Of the elegies the third is the best, both in regard to structure and teaching. But the same set of ideas runs through all the elegies. These are that the present suffering is the just retribution of sin; that the sin of the people may be laid at the door of priests and prophets; that God has become the enemy of the people; yet His mercies endure for ever, and His compassions fail not; that He has sent Nebuchadnezzar as His instrument to punish them, but He will not permit him to destroy them; that the mercy of God is vouchsafed in answer to the prayer of repentance; when the people repent they will be restored to their land.

In his exposition of these ideas Professor Adeney is uniformly happy. Sometimes he rises to almost prophetic heights, *e.g.*, in his passage on the prophets without vision, and on the problem of God and Evil, the answer to prayer, and the everlasting mercy of God.

This book is essentially one for the general reader. Professor Adeney gives the results and not the process of his own investigations. The two poems expounded in this volume are probably not very familiar to ordinary readers of the Old Testament, but it will not be Professor Adeney's blame if henceforth these poems are not made popular by this extremely lucid and readable exposition of them. Nothing can make them rank amongst the most important books of the Old Testament, but in their own place they have a lesson to teach, and that lesson is clearly set forth by the author of the volume.

ALEX. TOMORY.

### **The Bible Doctrine of Man.**

*By John Laidlaw, D.D. New Edition, Revised and Re-arranged.  
Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, 363 pp. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THIS is a new edition, with many alterations, of the seventh series of the Cunningham Lectures, published in its first form about fifteen years ago. It then consisted of six lectures, which are here arranged as six divisions divided into sixteen chapters, to each of which is appended critical notes which could not be embodied in the work, and which, in the first edition, were relegated to one general appendix. While maintaining his original positions on the questions involved, and reproducing much of the original matter of the work, Professor Laidlaw claims that this is practically a new volume, much of the former book being actually re-written, and the whole in various ways recast.

The general aim of the volume is to set forth Scripture teaching as to the Nature of Man, and connect the Biblical psychology thus reached with the teaching of Scripture about sin and salvation. The claim of the author as to his own distinctive position on the subject, is that he has done justice to the supreme distinction given in Scripture to "spirit" as an element in man's constitution; and while rejecting as unscriptural the theory of Trichotomy, has shown that a trichotomous "mode of speech" pervades Scripture, and that this is charged with a special religious significance.

In what sense then, according to Dr Laidlaw's reading of it, have we a Biblical Psychology? Not in the sense of an independent science, for in its anthropology, as in its cosmogony, Scripture does not profess to teach science. Yet it reaches conclusions both as regards the origin of the world and the nature of man, which, while primarily and mainly religious, "justify themselves in the face of scientific discoveries as these are successively made" (p. 12).

What the volume seeks to make good is the position that "a notion of man pervades both the Old and New Testaments, popularly expressed indeed, but uniform and consistent, though growing in its fulness with the growth of the Biblical revelation itself" (p. 14). Thus Biblical Psychology is bound up with Biblical Theology, and is not treated as an abstract system, but in close connection with a revelation which has a history and a development. Dr Laidlaw therefore begins by taking a brief glance at what the Bible teaches regarding the origin of man, and in doing so, he accepts the conclusion of criticism as to the two creation narratives, while "leaving the documentary hypothesis to time and criticism." This is an example of the author's attitude throughout the volume to many questions which come in his way, and on which he avoids coming to a conclusion. He gives them a word of recognition and even approval, but observes a caution in pronouncing even an *obiter dictum* regarding them, which is occasionally tantalising. Again and again you find him on the point of grappling with questions that have to be faced; but he leaves them, telling you that "in that direction there are theological territories to be possessed." For his purpose the essential point in the Scripture account of man's origin is that "the communication of life in man is described as a peculiar and direct act of God" (p. 35). In summarising the Bible view of man's constitution, which is his next task, Dr Laidlaw finds that, while asserting the unity of man's nature, it as strenuously asserts its duality, and recognises man as composed of two elements, the one of which is "earth-derived," the other "God-inbreathed"; and he chooses to describe them in these general terms because the antithesis of soul and body, flesh and spirit, "is, strictly speaking, not found at all in the Old Testament" (p. 61). And this leads him to the real *crux* of his subject, whether this duality of human nature, so strongly asserted in Scripture, must give way to a three-fold division. With great fulness, he discusses the theory of Trichotomy, pointing out that "it held an important place in the theology of some of the Greek Christian fathers; but in consequence of its use by Apollinaris to underprop grave heresy as to the Person of Christ, it fell into disfavour, and may be said to have been discarded from the time of Augustine till its revival within quite a modern period" (p. 67). He goes on to show that, while many modern theologians, both British and German, have "recognised the trichotomic usage in Scripture," the attempt to base upon it a theory of the tripartite nature of man has been reserved for a very modern school of thought, that represented by Mr Heard and Dr Edward White, who have adopted it as a basis for the theory of Conditional Immortality. In their hands it is a thoroughgoing philosophy of man as "a tripartite hypostasis—a union of three,

not of two natures only," with which they try to unlock the main positions of Scripture as to man's original standing—the Fall, Regeneration, the Intermediate State, and the Future Glory. Its bearing on these theological doctrines is obvious. Man consisted at the first of "body, soul, and spirit," and the "soul," as the union point between "body" and "spirit," was created free to choose to which of these poles it would incline. Thus the theory would make the *via media* between the Augustinian and Pelagian views of the fall; for the fall was an inclination towards the "body," which has for its result the deadening of the "spirit." The theory also defines Regeneration, which is the quickening again of the dead "spirit"; and it underprops Conditional Immortality as the doctrine of the future life which goes with it; for eternal life belongs to the quickened "spirit," and annihilation is the fate of those to whom the *pneuma* has never been restored. "Since natural men have only the *psyche*, and since the *pneuma* is added or bestowed only in regeneration, immortal existence belongs only to those who are possessed of the *pneuma*" (p. 82). Apart from these theological inferences, Dr Laidlaw shows, with much force, that the theory rests upon the assumption—and it is a mere assumption—that "Scripture intends by these two terms, soul and spirit, two essentially distinct natures in man's inner being" (p. 83). This leads him to analyse the Bible use of "soul" and "spirit," with the result that he does not find in Scripture the sharp distinction between them which a theory of Trichotomy demands. "They are used throughout the Old Testament, and generally even in the New Testament, with no sharp distinction, but are rather freely interchanged and combined to express the whole inward nature" (p. 89). But in the Pauline writings he finds the distinction between soul and spirit as diverse "aspects of man's inner being," the "spirit" being in this Pauline usage the regenerate nature of man. Paul continually contrasts the "psychical" and the "spiritual." His language is therefore trichotomous, but this usage does not, in Dr Laidlaw's view, point to a tripartite theory of human nature, but rather "to the elevating influence of revelation upon language." Thus he steers a middle course between the upholders of Trichotomy as a theory of man's nature, and those who see in the use of the terms "soul" and "spirit" a meaningless parallelism. There can be little doubt that the reasoning by which he reaches this position is more congruous both to the facts of man's nature as we know them, and to the Scriptural analysis, than the theory which would make the *pneuma* a "separable constituent of man's being." For, as Dr Laidlaw is careful to show, the distinctive feature of the Biblical psychology is its doctrine of the *pneuma* in man. That doctrine undergoes a development in which three distinct stages are noted. First, the

term indicates the divine origination even of his physical life ; second, the innermost aspect of his inward natural life ; and finally, in the latest system of Christian thought, the regenerate or spiritual life in which man is linked anew to God through Christ Jesus (p. 130).

In the second section of his book Dr Laidlaw carries the view thus reached of man's nature into his discussion of the questions of sin and salvation. It leads him to take the position of Augustinian theology all along the line, though it is important to note his large admissions as to dogmatic exaggeration of original righteousness, and the figurative character of the story of the entrance of sin into the world. In his chapter on the Image of God in Man, which he is led to define as consisting of Intellect, Self-consciousness, and Personality, he has some very suggestive observations regarding the relation between the doctrine of the Trinity and the image of God in man. He shows that the thought of Trinity "alone furnishes the connecting link between God and man in the person of the Incarnate Logos" (p. 170). The Divine Original, after which man is made, is thus presented to us, not as mere sovereign will, but as absolute Love. But one desiderates a fuller discussion than is here given of the relation of the image of God in man to Christ. He says : "When we endeavour to connect in thought the relation of the Logos to humanity in the first creation with the relation of the Incarnate Redeemer to renewed humanity, we enter upon a somewhat dim and perilous way" (p. 175). Yes ; but this way needs exploration, especially in connection with the Christology of Paul. The relation of the pre-existent Logos to mankind, preparatory to that which He was to sustain to man in the Incarnation, has an important bearing on the Soteriology of the New Testament. Dr Laidlaw quotes Dr Dale as saying, that without some clearing up of this point "the theory of expiation cannot hold its place in the thoughts of the Church." And he admits that there is much unexplored territory in the great texts which combine the relation of the Son to the universe with that of the glorified Redeemer to the restitution of all things. But he hesitates to assert that a gateway may be found into this territory by any suggestion as to man having been created in the image of the Logos. Possibly ; but one feels that Dr Laidlaw might have dealt more fully with the Christological relations of the Divine Image. He stops his discussion at a point where we would fain have had him proceed.

Nothing but praise can be given to Dr Laidlaw's exposition of the Psychology of the New Life. In the course of it he exposes the thinness of the tripartite theory at this point ; and in his discussion of the relation between regeneration and conversion he has cleared up much popular confusion. His chapter on the great

Pauline passages that bear upon the growth and victory of the new life is a fine piece of exegesis—and to the preacher nothing could be more useful or suggestive. It is a field in which Dr Laidlaw has long wrought fruitfully and successfully. The volume is closed with an admirable chapter on the bearing of the Biblical psychology on the future life. The insufficiency of the theory of “Conditional Immortality” is exposed as another proof of the untenableness of the Trichotomy on which it rests; and the author shows how a true view of immortality is bound up with a doctrine of man’s nature, such as the foregoing psychology has yielded. One feels that the author has, in his own words, successfully vindicated the place of Biblical psychology as “a torch-bearer to Biblical theology.” And if there is, as Dr Laidlaw says, “no novelty in our discussion,” no reader of the book will fail to admire its freshness. It is a most luminous exposition, and the author’s candour and careful efforts to do justice to the opinions of others, specially to those he controverts, are features which should greatly commend the work.

DAVID PURVES.

### **Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der Praktischen Theologie in gedrängter Darstellung.**

*Herausgegeben von D. H. Hering, Professor in Halle. I. Band: Homiletik, 1 Lieferung. Berlin: Reuter & Reichard, 1894. Pp. 64. Price, M. 1.*

THIS is the first instalment of a series of monographs on Practical Theology, which it is proposed to issue in some forty similar instalments within the next two years. The series, which is to consist of seven volumes, of from three to four hundred pages each, will discuss the various branches of Practical Theology usually set forth in German text-books. The aim of the series is to enable students of theology to continue the work of the lecture-room. Technicalities will be treated briefly but thoroughly; methods will be discussed in the light of past experience and present practice; and the superabundant literature of the subject will be examined so as to enable the student easily to see what is of abiding value. If the series is carried out in the spirit and with the skill and ability shown in the part now in hand, students of Practical Theology will hail it as a contribution of no ordinary interest and value. The volume on Homiletic is from the pen of the Editor. It has divided the subject into “history” and “theory”; and the part in hand carries the history of preaching, in an exceedingly interesting and well-

informed sketch, from the Apostolic Age to the twelfth century. The periods are broken up into convenient sections ; the characteristics of each period and section are clearly and briefly noted ; a succinct account is given of the great preachers ; and in the case of Augustine, a careful summary of the *De Doctrina Christiana*. Professor Hering handles the technicalities of his subject with ease and grace. They are never obtruded, yet they are always present, and they make the study of the history remarkably practical. At times, a somewhat unguarded expression occurs ; as for instance, "Chrysostom is *Bibeltheologe* when he preaches." But Professor Hering is quite alive to the weakness of Chrysostom's treatment of Scripture. I should, however, have expected more than a passing notice of the *Περὶ ἱερωσύνης*.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

**The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia : Being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest.**

*By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I. : The Lycos Valley and South-Western Phrygia. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xxii. 352. Price, 18s. net.*

THE publication of the first volume of Professor Ramsay's contribution to the history of Phrygia is an event of no ordinary importance. It has been looked forward to with eager interest, and it will not disappoint the expectations which have been formed of it. It has been a labour of love to its author. For many years the project has been upon his mind and in his heart, the enthusiasm of his waking and his sleeping hours. He has given his best powers to it, and has left nothing undone to secure its successful accomplishment. He has been able to make repeated visits to the country. He has examined every inch of the ground which he undertakes to describe. He has tested again and again his first impressions, his preliminary conclusions, and his favourite ideas. Not only has he been on the most intimate terms with the natives, and obtained from them all the information which they could furnish ; he has even been able to make himself independent of them, and has sometimes astonished them by taking himself the part of guide, and directing them to finds of which they had no idea. He has examined with all the care and skill of an expert the monuments which he has come across in the districts which he explored. He has had the good fortune to light upon inscriptions of importance. He has

gathered up all that could be ascertained of the habits, dialects, beliefs, tales, superstitions, folk-lore, and institutions of the people.

His book has all the value, therefore, of a study at first hand. It is the product not only of much thought, but of much travel and patient investigation on the spot. It has in it the makings of new chapters in ancient history. It presents an immense amount of matter which is of the greatest value to the classical student, as well as to the historian. The theologian also will find in it much that comes very close to his special interests. It opens up new lines of inquiry, new points of view, new ways of approaching old problems, both in the interpretation of the New Testament writings and in the story of the early Christian Church. It follows the large methods of Bishop Lightfoot, the yet larger methods of Mommsen, Schiller, and the great German scholars, and gives the theologian to understand, by fruitful and informing example, how the best results, in the case of the origin of Christianity and the reading of its records, as in other lines of historical research, can be reached only when the wealth of epigraphic, geographical, and archaeological inquiry is added to the study of the literature.

What Professor Ramsay professes to give is a *local* history. He follows, therefore, the plan of taking each city or centre by itself, and giving in as complete detail as possible all that belongs to it. He begins with a chapter on the Lycos Valley itself, describing its geographical position, its scenery, its divisions, its general importance, its history, and its religion. In successive chapters he deals at length with Laodiceia, Hierapolis, the cities of the middle Maeander Valley (Mossyna, Motella, Dionysopolis, Hyrgaleis), the Phrygian cities of the lower Maeander Valley and the Carian and Lydian frontiers, Colossai and the roads to the east, Lounda, Peltai, and Attanassos, the Valley of the Kazanes and Indos, and the Phrygian cities of the Pisidian frontier. In each case he gives all that he has been able to gather about the origin of the city, its inhabitants, their religious beliefs and practices, their race affinities, the particulars of their trade, finance, manufactures, public buildings, amusements, officials and forms of government, relations to strangers, social system, wars, position under different conquerors, and in short everything, however minute, that contributes in any way to an adequate idea of the people and their place in history. The account of each city or group of cities is followed by Appendices in which we get the texts of inscriptions and the succession of bishops. An admirable map of South-Western Phrygia and a plan of Laodiceia are also given. The want of indices is meantime a serious want. These will be supplied no doubt when the work is completed.

In his Introduction Professor Ramsay touches upon the problem

of Pteria, the strange city of the White Syrians, "whose remains," he tells us, "are the largest and the most remarkable in Asia Minor, though it has lain in ruins since 539 B.C." The story of this great city and of the Empire of which it was the centre, and to which Phrygia probably belonged, is one of the most recent and most absorbing of Asian mysteries. Professor Ramsay here goes beyond the position to which he has hitherto adhered on the subject. He is inclined to agree with those who hold that this Pterian Empire was held by "the King Khitasar, whose war with Rameses II., towards 1300 B.C., is one of the most famous events in Egyptian history," and that it was so situated that "he could have allies from two widely severed regions, Western Asia Minor, and the extreme east of Asia Minor with Syria." He sides here with the orientalist rather than with the classical scholars, and believes that the geographical identifications on which the former rely are sufficient, if they are correct, to carry the above conclusions with them.

The account which Professor Ramsay gives of the Lycos Valley and its chief cities has too many points of interest even to mention here. He explains the positions of the three peoples inhabiting it, —the Phrygian people in the glen of the upper Lycos, to whom Colossai belonged; the Carian people on the south bank of the Lycos and of the Maeander, who possessed the cities of Laodiceia, Trapezopolis, Attouda, and Kidramos; and the people, sometimes regarded as Carian and sometimes as Lydian, the Hydreleitai or Kydrareitai, on the north bank of the Lycos and Maeander. He shows how they had each their own sanctuary or *hieron* as the centre of their religion and government, and how the God of the third people came to resemble the Greek Apollo, while the deity of the others was rather like the Greek Zeus. He thinks that the religions of the three were fundamentally the same in ritual, and that the difference in development was connected with differences in national or tribal character, the Phrygians and Carians tending more to "the patriarchal type of social institutions, while the Lydians retained more of the matriarchal type which seems to have been native to Asia Minor."

Much is made, naturally, of the road-systems. It is pointed out that the existence of a great empire is inferred from the earliest known line of communication in Asia Minor, and that it may be identified with that of Khitasar. The importance given to the Lycos Valley, especially under the Roman administration, by the fact that it was one of the great points on the Eastern Highway, and the change that took place with the Valley and its cities when the line of communication was altered, are clearly shown. When the centre of the Roman Empire was removed first to Nicomedeia by Diocletian, and then to Constantinople by the

great Christian Emperor, the whole system of roads in Asia Minor was altered. "They radiated thereafter from Constantinople, instead of being arranged for convenience of communication with Rome." The result was that the Lycos Valley, being no longer on one of the chief thoroughfares, passed so much into the background, that it ceased to have almost any history for centuries. New illustrations are also furnished of the way in which the spread of Christianity and the development of the Church turned upon these road-systems.

In addition to the pictures of Laodiceia, Hierapolis, and Colossai, which have so special an interest to the student of the New Testament, a mass of information is given on a multitude of things bearing more or less directly on the early history of Christianity. On the Anatolian religion, the imperial cult, the Oriental mysteries, the public shows, the sacredness of localities, the Asiatic ideas of purity, the indications of totemism, the care of graves, the *neokorate*, the office of the town-clerk, the wealth of Laodiceia, the Galatian frontier, and much else, statements are made from time to time which are of great value.

It is unnecessary, however, to go into detail. It is also impossible to criticise. To do that effectively we should have gone over the ground and made the personal investigations which Professor Ramsay has made. We can only express again our sense of the importance of this contribution to our knowledge of the cities and religions of Asia Minor, and our hope that the remaining volumes may soon be in our hands. Interesting as this one is in many ways to the theologian, we look with still greater expectation to those which are to follow. These are to give the important series of pre-Constantinian inscriptions, and to deal specifically with the early history of Christianity in Phrygia. In these Professor Ramsay promises to take up the great questions of the relations between Pauline Christianity and the Roman policy, the opposition which the Church by and by had to face from the combined forces of the Empire and the native religions, and the way in which the Christian community came to form a new and distinct social system.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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**A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.**

*By the Rev. William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, B.D., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. cxii. 450. Price, 12s.*

THE *International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* promises to do great credit to British and American Scholarship. It is an eminently seasonable as well as important undertaking, and if it has commenced admirably on the Old Testament side with Dr Driver's *Deuteronomy*, it has made a no less notable beginning on the New Testament side with this conjoint work on St Paul's greatest Epistle. Much as has been written on the Epistle to the Romans, no apology is needed for adding this Commentary to the long list of expositions. Each successive student adds something to what others have done; each sees his own little bit of truth and recognises his own little bit of experience mirrored in it. But the Epistle itself remains an inexhaustible study, always revealing new things to reverent eyes, re-asserting itself at each new spiritual crisis in the history of the Church or in the life of the individual, always demanding fresh consideration, always repaying the kind of inquiry that brings science to the aid of piety. And this Commentary, while entirely reverent, rigorously scientific, and using with a liberal wisdom the best that grammar, history, and criticism can yield, has features which give it a distinct place in the great succession of Commentaries on the Romans.

One of the things which lend it a certain measure of novelty is the way in which it distributes its matter. It aims at presenting the argument "in several different ways and on several different scales at the same time," breaking up the matter by the use of "headlines, headings to sections, summaries, paraphrases, and large and small print notes." This is a method which has obvious drawbacks, if it has some equally obvious recommendations. It is not helpful to the sense of unity and proportion. It needs expert handling, if it is not to confuse one. The authors believe that it has the advantage of placing all before the reader in such a manner that "he may not either lose the main thread of the argument in the crowd of details, or slur over details in seeking to obtain a general idea." They have adopted it with this in view, and they have made use of it with the *minimum* of disadvantage and the

*maximum* of profit. This, however, is at the best a subordinate matter. The other feature of the work which gives it an independent value is of essential moment. It attempts to furnish "an interpretation of the Epistle which might be described as historical." No Commentary that did not set this before it as its first endeavour would be entitled to much consideration now. We have no lack of well-meant expositions of another kind. It can be claimed for this one that it is generally true to the historical method of interpretation, and subordinates every other interest to the paramount duty of reproducing the writer's thought as it shaped itself in his own mind, and as he meant to convey it to his readers. The dogmatic interpretation of Pauline thought forms no part of the plan. The combination of the Pauline ideas in a system of belief, their theological construction, and their relations to creed, are rightly left to other workers. But the ideas themselves are carefully investigated in the light of the writer's training, the religious thought of the time, and the free, fluid, popular terms which were in use. Occasionally we come upon something which goes rather beyond these lines, as when it is said in the Introduction that "just the most fundamental doctrines—the Divine Lordship of Christ, the value of His Death, the nature of the Sacraments—are assumed rather than stated or proved." That is a sentence, we venture to say, that would never have been written by Meyer. To speak of "the nature of the Sacraments" as having the same fundamental place in Paul's thought or teaching as the "Divine Lordship of Christ" and "the value of His Death," is surely to look at things out of their proper proportions and relations. But statements of this dubious order are of the rarest occurrence, and take little from the value belonging to the book as a consistently historical study. In this respect it will rank highest among English Commentaries on the Epistle.

It is, indeed, in the exposition of the great religious ideas of the Epistle that the book is often at its best. It is here, too, that it adds most to our appreciation of the argument. The discussions of the ideas attached to the terms *righteousness*, *faith*, *election*, *justification*, may be specially instanced. There are admirable statements on the place which Paul assigns to the idea of *Resurrection*, on the profound Pauline conception of *mystical union*, and on the Pauline view of the *Renovation of Nature*. Less satisfactory to our mind is the treatment of the idea of the *Divine Wrath*, in which too much favour is shown to Ritschl's limitation of it as a purely eschatological idea, and only some of the several relations, to the Divine holiness, love, jealousy, etc., are noticed in which the Scriptures present it. But among the best studies of this kind are the two on the *Death of Christ considered as a Sacrifice* and on the *Idea of Reconciliation or*

*Atonement.* The only qualification we should make is as regards the acceptance of Bishop Westcott's position, that "the centre of the symbolism of Sacrifice lies not in the death of the victim, but in the offering of its life." We cannot look upon this as made out by Bishop Westcott's argument, least of all as regards Paul's view of Sacrifice. But apart from that, these studies are admirable examples of fair and thorough historical investigation. The conclusions stated are that the two ideas of sacrifice and propitiation cannot be eliminated from the Epistle; that they "lie at the root of the teaching, not only of St Paul, but of the New Testament generally"; and that they cannot be dismissed as mere metaphors when they are applied to Christ's death. It is in the highest degree satisfactory also to see that the authors of this Commentary, penetrating further into Paul's meaning than Ritschl or Westcott or Lightfoot, recognise that "Reconciliation" expresses something on the side of God as well as something on the side of man—a change of attitude or relation on God's part—which is, indeed, the first thing in the "Reconciliation" of which Paul speaks. There is also an important, fair, and instructive statement on the Pauline *predestination*, in which substantially the same conclusions are reached as are given by Mozley in his well-known volume, *On the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*.

In anything with which Dr Sanday has to do we look for the highest quality of work in textual criticism, and in this Commentary all that concerns the history and criticism of the text is done with the precision, the caution, the invincible regard for solid fact that belong to the best style of English scholarship. A few lucid pages give all that it is needful to know about the authorities, the latest suggestions as to the origin and connections of the manuscripts being noticed. The question of the grouping of authorities is next dealt with. Here the authors give a concise account of what has lately been done in this direction, and of the groups most affected by recent inquiries. They speak with commendation of what has been attempted by Corsen, Rendel Harris, Bousset, Conybeare and others in "isolating comparatively small groups of authorities and investigating their mutual relations and origin." This is no doubt right, for some suggestive work is being done in this line. There is, at the same time, an unmistakeable inclination even on the part of some of our English students to forsake the ways of the great critics and prefer the kind of conjecture and speculation of which we had some portentous examples in connection with the publication of the new Syriac text. A word of caution and remonstrance from one who can speak with Dr Sanday's authority would not be amiss. It is satisfactory to see that the essays referred to are described in these measured terms as containing "more speculative

matter," although "it is also probable that they have a certain amount of solid nucleus." On the general question of the Textual Criticism of this Epistle, in which, as in the other Pauline Epistles, there is less that is distinctive than in the historical books, it is shown that the "same main lines of distribution" are observable as in other sections of the New Testament; that the authorities tend to fall here, as elsewhere, into the groups DEFG,  $\Sigma$ B,  $\Sigma$ ACLP; and that these correspond generally with Westcott and Hort's "Western," "Neutral," and "Alexandrian" (in the last case less precisely), while the later uncials would make the "Syrian" group. It is to be noticed, however, that, like Professor Blass, our authors would prefer another nomenclature, one that would "beg no questions" but "simply describe facts," and suggest  $\alpha$ -text,  $\beta$ -text,  $\delta$ -text,  $\epsilon$ -text, or  $\sigma$ -text, instead of "Alexandrian," "Neutral," "Western," and "Syrian" or "Ecclesiastical" respectively.

The Introduction, which covers towards one hundred pages, deals not less ably with the literary and historical questions than with the criticism of the Text. All that the most recent research has yielded is skilfully used to give us a correct and broad view of what Rome was in Paul's time, and what was the condition of the Jews in the world's metropolis then. There is an elaborate chronicle and criticism of the various attacks made upon the integrity of the Epistle. On the question of the genuineness of the last two chapters, Dr Gifford's explanation is preferred to all others, even to those of Lightfoot and Hort. Assuming that Marcion cut out these chapters, for which there is respectable evidence, and believing that it is becoming more certain that Marcion's *Apostolicon* influenced the text of the New Testament, our authors conclude that "when in adapting the text for the purpose of Church use it was thought advisable to omit the last portions as too personal and not sufficiently edifying, it was natural to make the division at a place where in a current edition the break had already been made." The explanation is an ingenious one. We still find it difficult to believe, however, that Marcion's influence could have been so great, or could have told so distinctly in this particular direction.

On the question of the origin of the Roman Church the old view of Ambrosiaster, himself a member of the Church, is followed as the most probable. The traditional account of its foundation by St Peter is set aside as having only a very qualified measure of truth, although our authors will not go the length of denying all connection between Peter and Rome. The idea that the Church owed its foundation to Jews who had been present at Pentecost, is dismissed on the ground that these Jews could scarcely have been in a position to evangelise others or even to become sufficiently instructed in the Gospel themselves. The data furnished by the closing chapters,

the unwonted "freedom of circulation and movement which now existed in the Roman empire," the fact that this movement was "at its greatest all along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean," and that its "general trend was to and from Rome,"—these and other considerations are thought to indicate that groups of Christians might easily visit Rome, coming from Palestine, Corinth, Ephesus, Tarsus, Syrian Antioch, and other places, and that, in due time, they would naturally form "not exactly an organised church, but such a fortuitous assemblage of Christians as was only waiting for the advent of an Apostle to constitute one." This argument is very persuasively put. The discussions on the composition, status, and organisation of the Church, and on the time, place, occasion, and purpose of the Epistle are also solid, well-balanced statements. The impression produced upon Paul's mind by Rome, and the ideas and circumstances which may have moved him to write the letter, are admirably put. Was not Paul's wish, however, to provide in Rome a base for his evangelistic work in the West, such as he had had in Antioch for his evangelistic work in the East, an important element, perhaps the main element, in his purpose in writing the Epistle?

There are many things of much interest, in the Introduction, in the Exegesis, and in the detached Notes, on which it is impossible to touch. We can only refer to what is said of Seneca, Pomponia Graeca, the condition of the provinces under Nero, the interpretation of the *Chresto impulsore* of Suetonius, the use of the Book of Wisdom, St Paul's philosophy of history, the doctrine of the Remnant, and the Christian teaching on Love. The influence of Ritschl appears occasionally, and not always to the best effect; the Church being sometimes put where Paul puts the individual. Nothing is more satisfactory, however, in respect of insight into Paul's thought than the interpretation of such doctrinal passages as iii. 25, v. 11, and the eighth chapter as a whole.

Since the publication of the original *Meyer* no contribution to match this one has been made to the historical interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans. It stands easily at the head of English commentaries. It has qualities, especially in what concerns the text, in which it is superior to the best works of Continental scholars.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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## **Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments, &c.**

*Herausgegeben von D. Hermann Strack und D. Otto Zöckler. A. Altes Testament. Erste Abteilung: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, ausgelegt von D. Hermann L. Strack. München. Edinburgh and London: Williams and Norgate. Pp. xx. 475. Price, M.8.50.*

WITH the appearance, a few months ago, of the last part of Professor Strack's exposition of the first four books of the Pentateuch, the "concise commentary" on the whole of Scripture is complete which was begun some dozen years ago by a company of evangelical scholars in Germany. Its general plan, and its attitude to the great critical movement of this generation, must now be familiar to most readers of this magazine, several of the contributions having been noticed in its pages, either in their original form or in translations. The present writer has also had an opportunity (*Critical Review*, Vol. III., p. 182) of expressing his mind with regard to the first part of Professor Strack's commentary. One of its strongest points, especially in view of the fact that Genesis is the part of the Hebrew scriptures first attacked by beginners, was found to be the frequent explanation of grammatical difficulties, whether of accidence or syntax, a feature which is continued throughout the volume. For the more advanced student the most valuable parts of the commentary will probably be found to be frequent excursions (an index to which is given on p. xi.), in which the author discusses at greater length than was possible in the notes such important questions as "The Sacrificial Ritual of the Old Testament in general" (pp. 287-291), the name "Jahve" (pp. 181 ff.), the plagues, the historical reality of the Tabernacle, &c. To many of these are appended carefully-selected lists of authoritative books and articles, a department in which the commentary is particularly strong; see, for example, the bibliography to the excursus on Jahve, just referred to, or the literature on leprosy (p. 331). The only work of the first rank to which we have noted no reference in these pages is the late Professor Robertson Smith's "Religion of the Semites." It should have found a place in the bibliography of "Sacrifice," p. 291, and in the note on Lev. xv. 18 a reference to "additional Note D" would have been in place. Professor Bacon's "Triple Tradition of the Exodus" did not appear till after the commentary was completed. A third characteristic of this, as of all Dr Strack's work, is the earnest piety that pervades the whole. To him these

books of the Law are instinct with a great divine purpose ; to him, as to St Paul, "the Law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ." Professor Strack's commentary, therefore, may be unreservedly commended to younger students of the original for its exact Hebrew scholarship, its clear and concise annotations on just those points that most require elucidation, and the beautiful spirit in which the author deals with the words of revelation.

On the other hand, the present reviewer is convinced that his friend's attitude to the whole priestly stratum of the Pentateuch is one which will in the long run prove unsatisfactory, even to himself. Professor Strack, as we saw in our former notice, accepts loyally the results of Pentateuch analysis, but, in the interest of what will ultimately turn out to be a mistaken apologetic, he refuses to see those fundamental differences between the prophetic and priestly sources, upon which the newer theory of Israel's religious history is based. Illustrations may be found on almost every page of the commentary. Thus, in his excursus on the new name of Exod. vi. 2, Dr Strack falls back on the old explanation of this verse given by M. Jean Astruc in 1753, and contends that the statement here made as to the Patriarch's ignorance of the name Yahve is to be taken "relatively," not "absolutely." By this means it is sought to remove the discrepancy between J and P in their use of the divine names in the Patriarchal period, but it is not an explanation that will meet with much favour at the present time.

If we pass on a few chapters we find Professor Strack (p. 213) departing so far from the traditional view of the passage of the Red Sea as to admit that it would pass the wit of "the most experienced general, with the most brilliant of staffs," to take across an army of even two million well-disciplined soldiers in the given time. And yet, instead of allowing that the numbers given by P in Exod. xii. 37 (for the 600,000 in dispute cannot be assigned, as by Strack, to the prophetic narrative in the face of xxiii. 30) must be too high, recourse is had to a wonderful theory that the Israelites must have left Egypt in detachments, some before and some *after* that led by Moses !

When we come to the vital question of the Tabernacle and its relation to the simple "tent of meeting," which, according to the prophetic narrative, was pitched *outside* the camp, we find our author's apologetic at its weakest. The categorical statement, "Exod. xxxiii. 7-11 speaks only of a temporary Ohel Moed" (p. 285), will not stand examination in the light of Numbers xi.-xii.

One other illustration of the weakness of Professor Strack's case in defending at all hazards the historical accuracy of P. He is

combating the view that P's demand for forty-eight purely Levitical cities (Numb. xxxv. 1-8) is merely theoretical, and brings forward, as proof that traces of the arrangement in question are found in pre-exilic times, the well-known passage 1 Sam. vi. 15, a verse which bears on the face of it the marks of a later interpolation.

Account for it as one may, the fact remains that the study of Dr Strack's commentary, with all its scholarship and devout treatment of the text, has left me more convinced than ever that the victory is with the moderns. Once the analysis of the sources is accepted, we are logically compelled by our historical sense to distinguish degrees of trustworthiness in the documents thus obtained, and it is a mistaken apologetic, I venture to repeat, that would insist that it must be otherwise.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

## Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments in Verbindung

*Mit Professor Baethgen in Greifswald, Professor Guthe in Leipzig, Professor Kamphausen in Bonn, Professor Kittel in Breslau, Lic. Marti in Basel, Professor Rothstein in Halle, Professor Rüetschi in Bern, Professor Ryssel in Zürich, Professor Siegfried in Jena, Professor Socin in Leipzig, übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Freiburg, i. B.: und Leipzig. Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. xviii. 1012 and 219 pp. (Price, 15s. in cloth).*

THE attention of the readers of this magazine has already been called—on two occasions, indeed—to the important service which has been rendered to all students of the Old Testament by Professor Kautzsch and his able coadjutors in connection with the work, the full title of which is given above. It will suffice on this occasion to emphasize once more our complete agreement with the main principles on which the work has been carried through (see *Critical Review*, vol. III. p. 278), and, in particular, to call attention to one of the most valuable portions of the whole work, no indication of which, unfortunately, appears on the title-page. The translation proper, it should be said, occupies over a thousand large octavo pages; the second and much smaller volume is made up of matter to which the editor has prefixed the modest title of "Beilagen," but which, we venture to say, will be more frequently consulted by the student than the translation itself. The first of these "Beilagen" contains the notes on the criticism of the text, which

have now been collected with a pagination of their own. The dominant note of this part—to many, we repeat, the most valuable part of the undertaking—is a praiseworthy moderation in the matter of textual emendation. This was necessary in a work designed more for the clergy and educated laity than for Hebrew specialists. Hence it may safely be said that the hundred pages of the first appendix represents the *minimum* of textual emendation demanded by critical science at the present time. Most scholars would unhesitatingly go further than Professor Kautzsch has gone; no scholar would venture at this time of day to plead for less than is given here. Thus in the critical notes on the book of Psalms (pp. 69-81), considering how much has been done in this field of recent years, we incline to think the editor has erred on the side of caution, but this after all is better than to go to the opposite extreme, and by so doing create in the minds of those for whom the work is intended a prejudice against the scientific study of the older Scriptures.

Pages 110-135 of the “Beilagen” are devoted to a “conspectus of the history of the Israelites from Moses to the end of the second century B.C.” The material is so arranged in five, and during the existence of the Northern Kingdom in six, parallel columns that the eye can catch at a glance the leading events and the literary productions of any period of Hebrew history, while a place is found in the last two columns for such portions of Assyro-Babylonian and Egyptian history as have a bearing on the contemporary history of Israel. In many respects the most important of these columns is the third, in which is arranged in chronological order what remains to us of the literature of the Hebrews. But this portion of the learned editor's labours is dependent on, inasmuch as it embodies the results of, the pages that follow, headed “Abriss der Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Schrifttums.” These pages we do not hesitate to describe as the most fascinating popular account of the Old Testament literature which has yet been written. The author's standpoint is, of course, that of the newer school generally, but there breathes throughout his work a spirit of reverence and a warm religious feeling which are unfortunately too often lacking in the kindred works of his compatriots (see, *e.g.*, the remarks on the supernatural origin of the prophetic gift, pp. 159-160, on the religious significance of the Psalter, pp. 208-9, and the closing words, pp. 218-19).

As may be inferred from the title, the method adopted is not that of the ordinary text-book or Introduction, but that of Reuss's well-known “Geschichte” and of the recent work of Wildeboer; that is, the surviving monuments of Hebrew literature are considered in connection with the period of Hebrew history to which they respectively belong. In the work before us, the history is divided into

six periods, the most interesting of which from the literary point of view is, for obvious reasons, the first or pre-regal period. Now a glance at the chronological tables above referred to shows only *two* entries prior to the time of David—viz. “the song of Deborah” (contemporaneous with the events recorded, *circa* 1250 B.C.) and the somewhat later “Fable of Jotham” (Judges ix. 7 ff.)—the third entry being the famous “Song of the Bow” (2 Sam. i. 17 ff.). The result is that the reader unfortunately receives a false impression of the author’s critical views, and in a new edition it would be well to bring the table more into harmony with the author’s real position as laid down in the “Abriss,” pp. 136-140.

With regard to certain critical problems at present under debate, we may note, in the department of Pentateuch criticism, that Professor Kautzsch considers that the question as to the original decalogue is “as yet by no means ripe for decision,” that the sources J and E do *not* extend into the historical books of Judges and Samuel (see pp. 148 and 157), and that the Law of Holiness (Hs) must be later than Ezekiel. In various matters affecting the prophetic books the author will be found to lean to the conservative side; thus he finds traces of another hand than that of II. Isaiah only in chapters 63-66. As to the Psalter, finally, we are glad to note that Professor Kautzsch refuses to assign the whole Psalter to post-Exilic times, maintaining, on the one hand—and, we think, maintaining with justice—that such Psalms as the 20th, 21st, 45th can only be understood as hymns of the pre-Exilic period, and on the other—with equal justice—that “such strong opposition to the necessity of sacrificial worship as we find in Pss. xl. 7, l. 8 ff., and li. 18 f. could only have found admission into the temple hymn-book because of the fact that the Psalms containing these sentiments had for a long period been regarded as in some sort canonical” (p. 207).

By a clerical error (p. 204) the close of the prophetic canon is placed in the middle of the *second* century B.C. The date intended, the middle of the *third*, is correctly given on p. 132 of the chronological tables. It only remains to express the thanks of all students of the Hebrew scriptures to editor and publisher for placing within our reach so comprehensive and valuable a work at so moderate a price.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

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## Die Vorstellungen vom Messias und vom Gottesreich bei den Synoptikern.

*Von Prof. Dr Ludwig Paul. 8vo, pp. vi. 130. Bonn: Cohen, 1895; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Price, 2s. 6d.*

THIS is a book dealing in a very able and scholarly way with some of the central problems of the life of Christ as narrated in the first three Gospels; and also with the problem of the origin of these books. The writer's name is not to be found in the German University Calendar, and this work is probably connected with his recent appointment. He writes in a clear and condensed style, and gives many acute discussions of texts, often shedding on them fresh light. We need not here discuss the propriety of the method under which he writes, that namely of isolating the Synoptic Gospels from the fourth, and studying the synoptic life of Christ as if the Gospel of John had never been written. It is a method which prevails in Germany, and which has many conveniences; and the reviewer must follow the writer on the ground he has chosen and judge of the work he has done there.

We have here, in the first place, a fresh study of the growth of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, which has much in common with that given by Baldensperger in his "*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*," but also much that is widely different. By what stages did Jesus advance to the conviction that He was the Messiah, at what point in the narrative did He attain to this position in His mind, and what did He mean by the title He assumed of "the Son of Man"? These are the questions to be answered; and the view has on the whole prevailed that it was at His baptism that Jesus felt called to take up, at least in His own consciousness, the part of the Messiah, and that His ministry thenceforward was Messianic—that, namely, of the conscious fulfiller of prophecy and divine agent in bringing in the Kingdom of God. The mental history of Jesus on this view consists only of two stages, the pre-Messianic and the Messianic. Dr Paul contends that three stages must be recognised in it; that Jesus regarded Himself successively as prophet, as Son of Man, and as Son of God, and that the title Son of Man has not the same meaning in all the passages where it occurs, but covers a considerable growth in Jesus' views of His own person. At first, Jesus is simply a prophet; he takes up the same position as John the Baptist, and preaches the same message. He announces the kingdom not as come but immediately coming; His office is to declare its nature and sow the seed or make recruits for it. From this Jesus is led by His inner religious position to give Himself the title "Son

of Man." Baldensperger maintained that this title was always apocalyptic, and stood for the Judge descending to the last judgment; but Dr Paul considers it to have been at first the title for the purely human qualities Jesus felt Himself to possess in a higher degree than anyone else. He more and more, however, felt Himself to stand in a unique position, and realised that He alone represented the kingdom of mercy and goodness, so that He could say of Himself that the Son of Man was more than the Sabbath, more than the temple. He has not yet, however, taken up the rôle of Messiah. That only dates from Peter's confession.

At this point He becomes the Son of Man in a new sense, not the man only but the Judge, as described by Daniel, who is to execute God's will by setting up His visible kingdom. This, it is stated, Jesus expected to do while yet alive; when He set out for Jerusalem He expected to suffer but not to die. It was only at the very end that He advanced to the belief that He should return from heaven to set up the Kingdom. The phrase "Son of Man," as used by Jesus, has thus an apocalyptic meaning only during the few last days of His life. There certainly are passages in which it has this sense; and it is perhaps the chief merit of Dr Paul's book that he shows the phrase to have been an elastic one, and to have been used by Jesus in different ways at different stages of His career.

This part of the book has several serious weaknesses. If Jesus for some time after His baptism does not regard Himself as the Messiah, but only as a prophet, and if, as is well shown here, Kingdom and Messiah are inseparable correlates, why is there no trace of His having foretold, as the Baptist did, the coming of a greater than Himself? Must He not have done so if He regarded Himself as merely recruiting for the Kingdom? Dr Paul moreover sees, as most scholars do, that the temptation is part of the experience of Jesus when coming to regard Himself as Messiah. If He only came so to regard Himself when setting out on His fateful journey to Jerusalem, must the temptation also be placed at this part of His life? Our author comes to that conclusion in respect of the third temptation at least, in which Jesus renounced all political modes of action for His cause (p. 96). This view evidently does some violence to the synoptic narrative, the chronological arrangement of which he professes to regard as in the main trustworthy.

As for the views of the Kingdom of God in the Synoptics, the writer holds that the kingdom Jesus had in His mind was to be in this world, though it was purely moral and spiritual in its character. It was conceived at first without the judgment, which to the Jewish mind was so important, having a prominent place in it, though this element was not wanting. It was conceived as limited to the Jews; but as there was nothing in it that was not

purely human, it widened out in Jesus' mind towards universalism. The Parousia was not at first a feature of it; the "regeneration" spoken of (Matt. xix. 28) was a process Jesus expected to see ere long, in His own lifetime. After the crucifixion this was, of course, changed. The second coming of the Saviour became the principal part of Christian belief about the future; and in this stage of thought many utterances of Jesus were connected in the tradition with the second coming, which originally had no such reference. The cooling down of the expectation of the Parousia, the settlement of the Church—not as a temporary arrangement soon to give way to the Kingdom, but as being the Kingdom itself—and its growing organisation and power, each of these stages of belief has left its mark, our author thinks, on the Synoptics. Here he is guided chiefly by Pfeleiderer, and he follows that scholar in assigning very few of the parables of the Kingdom to Jesus Himself, nearly all of them to the period when the Kingdom was passing into the Church.

These are the main outlines of this book, but it is written with great compression, and contains much more than we can even indicate. Many passages are treated freshly, as we said, notably that about the "regeneration," already referred to, and that of the message of the Baptist and Jesus' reply to him. Some of the proposed renderings, however, appear to me inadmissible. Matt. xi. 12, "the violent take it by force," is made to mean that the Pharisees obstruct the appearance of the Kingdom, and that but for them it would have been recognised long ago. Luke xvii. 20, "The kingdom of God is among you," is held to point to visible communities of believers already to be witnessed in the world, a rendering which brings it down to a late period. Matt. xvi. 13-19 is said to be the most practically important passage in the New Testament, because the primacy of Peter and the Romish system, for which the writer shows he has other feelings besides those of the scholar, are founded on it.

The writer drops phrases along his path which show where he stands with reference to the question of the origin of the three Synoptics. Luke is a "collector," Mark is a "harmoniser." At the close of the essay he states his views on the subject explicitly. The Mark used, as Paul agrees with Holtzmann, by Matthew and Luke was not the Mark we know, but an earlier document. The earlier Mark was not the book "without order" spoken of by Papias, but was perhaps based on it; and our Mark used not only that older document but also Matthew and Luke, in many passages combining and harmonising them. Mark, then, did not receive its present form till the Gospel of Luke had been composed, and also that of Matthew, if not in its latest, yet in one of its latest revisions.

As for Matthew, it is founded on the Logia of Papias, on the early Mark as aforesaid, on old tradition, and also on some old writings, one of them at least rich and good. In Dr Paul, in fact, we experience a complete change from the preference for Mark which has so long obtained in synoptic study, and generally find Matthew placed first. The Gospel of Luke, lastly, is founded on an early Lucan narrative, for the existence of which Marcion is appealed to, on oral tradition, and on a number of such narratives as are spoken of in the prologue, an early Matthew and an early Mark being among them. This statement appears to sum up very correctly on the whole the results which students of the subject have seen for some time to be coming into view.

ALLAN MENZIES.

**Historisch - Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache, mit comparativer Berücksichtigung des Semitischen überhaupt.**

*Zweite Hälfte, 1 Theil: Abschluss der speciellen Formenlehre und die generelle Formenlehre. By Prof. Fr. Eduard König. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895. 8vo, pp. 602. Price, M.16.*

WHEN Professor König published the first part of his grammar, he expressed the hope that the remainder would appear within two or three years. Fourteen years have passed since then, and the volume just published still leaves the work unfinished. In the interval Professor König has done notable service by publications of somewhat different character, chief among them being his critico-dogmatic work "*Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testaments*" (1882) and the "*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*" (1893). But the numerous valuable discussions of the linguistic argument for the dates of the several books of the Old Testament contained in the last-named work, or published separately in periodicals, gave evidence that the author was still busy with philological study and research. Further fruit of this we have in the present volume, which completes the exposition of the "*Formenlehre*": the syntax is still reserved for another volume.

One of the chief aims of the work is completeness: every instance occurring in Hebrew literature of any form is cited. Even more than in the case of the verb, with which the first volume dealt, is this completeness welcome in the treatment of the substantive and the adjective, the numerals, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections to which the first half of this second volume is devoted. For, as the preface points out, it is just here that

Böttcher's great grammar fails us : its treatment of the substantive is not absolutely exhaustive, and it contains no discussion at all of the numerals, adverbs, etc. The numerals in particular present so many peculiarities of form and usage that König's full discussion (pp. 206-232) is certain to prove most valuable for purposes of reference ; the lists (pp. 215-225) of compound numbers actually found in the Old Testament are a specially useful contribution, and will be found of critical as well as philological interest.

In illustration of König's treatment of the noun (pp. 1-206), it will be sufficient to refer to his discussion of the large and important class consisting of the three radicals with *one* originally short vowel—the so-called segholates. This occupies the first 70 pages of the volume, less indeed the considerable space occupied by matters common to all nouns, as, *e.g.*, the case-endings (pp. 3-10). The form *kätl* is considered first. The instances are given in three divisions—(a) Those which exhibit in the inflected forms the original ä, p. 1 *f.* ; (b) those of which no inflected form occurs ; (c) those which in the inflected forms shew the original ä thinned down to i, p. 17 *f.* It is unfortunate that the reason of this most valuable division is left unexplained for several pages, and that between the first two divisions and the last there intervene accounts of case-endings in general and other matters. Instances of *kätl* are also given in three divisions :—(a) Words of which only forms with i occur, and which are therefore to some extent uncertain instances : *cf.* class (c) under *kaṭl* ; (b) words which occur with both seghol and çere in the first syllable of the simple singular form, and (c) words which shew only çere in the first syllable. Instances of *kütl* are divided into (a) words which shew ö in the inflected forms, (b) those which shew (always or at times) ü in the inflected forms, and (c) those which retain ö in the St. Abs. Pl. *e.g.* קָדָשִׁים. There then follow similarly classified instances of this class of noun from the (first, second, and third) guttural roots and roots י'ע', ע'ע', א'פ, א'ע, י'ע', ו'ל, and א'ל. The section closes with the instances in which Hebrew throws the short vowel into the last syllable.

This combination of exhaustive presentation and careful analysis is of unquestionable value, although the particular method of classification may not commend itself as the best. Many will probably still prefer Stade's arrangement, by which all the different types due to the peculiar character of different roots which the same form may present are given in succession under that form (*e.g.*, under *kaṭl*—חָסַד, בָּעַל, צֹאן, נָשִׁי, etc.) : but this is not the place to criticise in detail either this or any other classification found in the present volume : it is a matter of principle, and the principle was explained and defended in the first volume. But it may be added that, as a

further effect of the principle adopted, the feminines of this type are discussed quite by themselves (pp. 156-170).

In citing the individual instances, the pausal forms actually found, and the plural endings (whether *-im* or *-oth*), are indicated. This is of value; but the plan of adding also the meanings of the words is to be deprecated: for advanced students, who alone are likely to use the work, the information will be unnecessary, and by no means worth the numerous brackets it adds to pages otherwise unavoidably crowded with them.

The second main division of the volume, entitled "*Die generelle Formenlehre*," deals with the various forms of the language in their relation to one another, in their historical development, and as influenced by physiological laws. Some prefatory sections discuss the trustworthiness of the Hebrew textual tradition. On the whole, König estimates this highly, and, as compared with Lagarde, depreciates the importance for a study of noun-formation of the different vocalization frequently represented by the Septuagint (pp. 359 *ff.*). Important sections then follow on the priority of the noun or verb, the origin of the derivative conjugations, and the tense and modal forms, the origin and significance of the various noun-forms, word-composition, and the nature of the inflexional variations in both verb and noun. As to the first of these matters, König argues against the priority of either verb or noun, regarding them rather as two parallel developments, having the same direct relation to the root, but independent of one another.

In many respects the last sections of the volume will be found to be the most characteristic. It is in these that König's "*laut-physiologische methode*" is most directly and fully seen. All who are even slightly acquainted with any other Semitic language are well aware of the peculiarly great influence of the tone on Hebrew vocalisation. To König's detailed discussion they will, therefore, turn with interest.

Among the more general aspects of this volume is the constant reference to comparative Semitic philology, which fully justifies the new phrase in the full-title. At the same time, the "constant reference to Qimchi and the other authorities," which formed so excellent a feature of the earlier volume, still characterises the second, although the fact is no longer mentioned in the title.

A full index of forms, extending to upwards of 150 columns, and a shorter subject-index, greatly facilitate the use of the work as a book of reference.

It is impossible, in a short review, to criticise, or even refer to, the contents of such a work as this in any detail. But sufficient has probably been said to show that it is marked by two great qualities, with which Professor König's other work has made us familiar

—thoroughness of treatment and independence of judgment : it is to be regretted that to these we cannot add lucidity of expression. Yet, despite the frequent obscurity of the style, this work deserves, and is sure to receive, a hearty welcome from all advanced students of Hebrew in England ; and all readers of the two volumes already published will echo the wish that no great time may elapse before the work is completed.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

## Romains et Juifs.

*Etude critique sur les Rapports publics et Privés qui ont existé entre les Romains et les Juifs jusqu'à la prise de Jerusalem par Titus.*  
L. K. Amitai. Paris : Fischbacher. Pp. 136.

## Essai sur la Formation du Canon de L'Ancient Testament.

Xavier Koenig. Paris : Fischbacher. Pp. 75.

## Das Rätsel des Fünfbuches Mose und seine falsche Lösung.

*Ein Beitrag zur Lösung einer brennenden biblischen Zeitfrage mit eingehender Berücksichtigung der Quellenscheidung von Dr Strack. Eduard Rupprecht. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, M.2.*

THE writer of the first of these books, a Belgian Jew, promises his readers a critical study of the relations between the Jews and Romans during the most important period of the world's history. The author knows well what such a study should be. "Critical history," he says, "in order not to lose itself in the hazardous, fanciful sphere of hypothesis, ought before all things carefully to collect materials, facts ; then to examine them with scrupulous care in order to eliminate whatever is uncertain, whatever excites suspicion. Every prejudice ought to be set aside with jealous care." These are excellent principles. Yet after reading his book we have regretfully to say that he awakens expectations which he does not by any means satisfy. As soon as he begins to write his history he seems to forget his own principles. We look in vain for evidence of original research, diligent collection of materials, careful study of documents. And we miss still more the calm impartial tone and temper of the true historian. However

willing we may be to be carried along by the author's always vigorous and sometimes eloquent writing, we find ourselves pausing to question every second statement, and asking for proof, which is rarely given.

Even the prelude suffices to show that the Jew is going to be the hero, and the Roman the villain of the drama. "*Vae, vae vobis*"! So it begins. "It is the cry of the heart of the barbarian, of the wolf in the face of the lamb, of a world in which might usurps the place of right and justice." As we read on, we find we are not mistaken. The Roman is the barbarian, the wolf, the usurper. "My work will not be in vain," the author says, "if I do nothing but show the true character of the Romans at the epoch which we are studying." Montesquieu is quoted with approval: "The Romans were a race of brigands, who never belied the character which they had at the beginning." Moses is quoted with the assumption that he had a prevision of the Romans in Deut. xxviii. 49. And the writer gives his own verdict: "The she-wolf with her milk nourished their first ancestor, and with the milk infused her blood, her taste for rapine, her thirst for blood, and her appetite for the flesh of her victims." This and much that is like it may make a fine background for a picture, but it is not history.

Now turn to the hero. We are told that the Jew contended with the Roman during those two centuries because he had a noble and sacred cause to maintain. The struggle was a holy war. "It was the rising of a people to rescue themselves from the intolerable yoke of a conquering, cruel, and insatiable barbarian. The cause for which they fought was law and religion. This was why the struggle was so desperate, and why it ceased only with the complete disappearance of the combatants on the side of the heroic people." Again we have to say that this is not history. The struggle of the Maccabees was the last holy war of the Jews. The lofty religious enthusiasm, the genuine spiritual fire which burned in the hearts of Judas and his brethren is looked for in vain among the combatants of later times. Wise and good men kept themselves aloof from the disastrous struggle with the Romans, as our author himself admits (p. 71). Those who prolonged the bitter conflict were doubtless patriots of a kind. They fought heroically, desperately. But they were not men of enlightenment; still less were they saints. They were wild zealots, fanatics, sicarians. It was a kingdom of this world they contended for. It is vain to speak of a sacred cause borne down by tyranny, of right overwhelmed by brutal might. The decline and fall of the Jewish nation, like the later decline and fall of her great enemy, were due, not to external, but to internal, causes.

The writer's repeated assertion that the Jews of that period were

intellectually as well as morally in advance of the Romans, that "their culture and civilisation were incontestably superior," may be allowed to pass. We leave it an unsolved problem whether the Pharisees, whom he regards as the flower of the nation, were intellectually superior to the men of the Augustan age. But in the course of his story he has more serious questions to consider. He says nothing that is new about Christianity. He seems here content to follow the guidance of Graetz. But he is most anxious to correct a false impression that prevails regarding the Pharisees. "They were really peaceful men, simple in their manners, severe in their devotion to duty, declared enemies of luxury, and full of sweetness towards the poor and unfortunate." He regards it as very doubtful if there ever was any conflict between these good men and Jesus. Even if there was, there could be no greater calumny than to say that the Jews were the instigators of the death of Jesus. "There is superabundant evidence of the inanity of the accusation: it wants all psychological and historical basis. The responsibility of the death of the Christ falls entirely on Pontius Pilate—that is to say, on the Romans." We want more than psychology to prove statements like these, but as usual we look in vain for the historical evidence.

The volume closes with an impressive appeal to Christendom. "Will Christianity always show herself hostile to Judaism? Will the daughter continue to be jealous of the mother? Will she tyrannise over her for ever? Will the time never come when a sincere reconciliation shall take place? The mother extends her arms; will the daughter still refuse to throw herself into them?" He prophesies that the time will come when we shall all be governed by one Ideal, the eternally Beautiful, the eternally Good. "Then the Messiah expected of Israel shall have come at last." By a singular oversight he omits from his Ideal what ought to come first, the eternally True. We doubt whether this volume brings us much nearer to *that*.

M. Xavier Koenig, who appears to be a member of the French Protestant Church, tells us that he has set himself the task of giving to the students of France what Ryle, Buhl, and Wildeboer have recently given to those of England, Germany, and Holland—a history of the Canon based upon the definite results of critical science. Among earlier workers in this field he singles out for special praise Vatke, Kuenen, Wellhausen, and R. Smith. He has evidently imbibed the spirit of these masters. He has both the valour and the discretion of the true critic. "History," he says, "has the right to determine scientifically the organic evolution of the sacred books." But "facts are so difficult to know and inter-

pret. Prudence and mistrust are the virtues of the historian." Further, he writes in a graceful style which makes his book very easy and pleasant reading.

He first disposes of the myth which until recent times passed for doctrine, that the whole Canon of the Old Testament was fixed by Ezra and the Great Synagogue over which he was supposed to have presided. M. Koenig proves that "this Great Synagogue is a pure fiction, which never existed except in the imagination of the Jewish doctors." He then gives a very clear account of the historical conditions and spiritual needs which led to the canonization—(1) of the Law; (2) of the Prophets; (3) of the miscellaneous collection known as the *Kethubim*. We can only refer to a few points of detail in his account. He contends for the essential historical accuracy of the remarkable narratives in 2 Kings xxii.-xxiii. and Nehemiah viii.-x., and for the good faith of the reformers who made Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code the basis of their reforms. His countrymen, MM. Havet and Vernes, appear to regard these narratives as dramatic fictions, but he sees no reason for following them in their extreme scepticism, and he has the support of all the leading critics for his own view. He collects evidence which goes to prove that the *Prophets* must have been collected into one sacred volume not later than the third century B.C. They may be said to have been canonized by the religious consciousness of the whole people rather than by the verdict of individuals. The third part of the Canon, the *Kethubim*, remained open long after the others were closed. The Rabbins were the final arbiters. Passages in the Mishna prove that controversies regarding disputed books continued to disturb them down to the end of the first century of our era. When Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Canticles came finally to be regarded, in the very curious Rabbinical phrase, as "defiling the hands"—*i.e.* as sacred or canonical—they were admitted to that honour for reasons which could now hardly be accepted as valid.

M. Koenig's enquiry leads him to a practical conclusion which is strikingly expressed. We may quote two or three sentences. "When we seek to reconstruct the history of Israel, what are we to do? Shall we use the Palestinian canon pure and simple? By no means. We cannot neglect any document, whether canonical or not, which enables us to mark the necessary phases of the evolution which ended in the coming of Christ. The Hebrew canon is insufficient. The historian and the theologian must form for themselves another canon. . . . The man of piety is content to read and be edified without seeking to understand the times and the circumstances. But for the theologian the question is settled. The Jewish canon cannot, and ought not to hold him within its

narrow circle. Wherever the Spirit has been manifested, he must listen to His voice."

M. Koenig has very carefully performed the task which he set himself. It may be superfluous to point out a misprint on p. 15, line 3, and another on p. 58, footnote, which are not given among the Errata.

The third of these books is a strange one to come from Germany. Eduard Rupprecht informs us in his preface that he has already written an *Anti-Wellhausen* (1893), and a *Pseudo-Daniel und -Isaiah* (1894), and that the books bearing these suggestive titles "have excited a quite uncommon interest in Germany, America, Norway, and even in Rome"—his fame does not seem to have yet reached our Island. It is no wonder if, elated by these successes, he now feels ready to solve "the Sphinx-riddle of the Pentateuch."

In the cup of his success there has been only one drop of bitterness. The Universities of the Fatherland have received his books with marked coldness. One Professor has said that he has not learned the *technique* of criticism; another that he uses the old-fashioned weapons of the school of Hengstenberg. Worst of all, young Siegfried of Jena has told him that he has not time to read his "sermons." But his ardour is not to be cooled by their indifference. In a terrible passage he expresses his scorn and contempt for all Professors, D.D.'s, Ph.D.'s *et hoc genus omne* (p. 10). His feelings thus relieved he turns to his immediate purpose. Having in his previous works disposed of the radical critics, among whom he reckons Reuss, Wellhausen, Kautzsch, Stade, and Cornill, he now turns his attention to the moderate liberals, such as König, Köhler, Strack, and Zöckler. He readily acknowledges that there are "many good things" in these critics of the "centre." Are not most of them friends of his own? There is a wide gulf between them and the extreme men of the left. He cannot deny that the greatest and best of the school, the elder Delitzsch, was considerably influenced in his latter days by the views of Wellhausen (p. 24). But for himself he will have nothing to do with those who seek a *via media*. It is for them that the words on the cover of his book are intended: "Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him." Is he himself then the only one who has not bowed the knee to Baal? There is one other, and he in Princeton. Dr Green is the sole writer whose views he quotes with approval, and to him his book is dedicated.

Rupprecht states his case in a very lively manner. If he uses strong, and sometimes, as he curiously enough confesses, unparliamentary language, he covers many such sins with an abundant flow of good humour. While his opinions are inflexible, he is a man of

many moods. His wrath must not be taken too seriously. He makes it clear that he will have none of Dr Strack's critical analysis. Not only does he not believe in it; he tells us in bolder than ordinary type that criticism is "the greatest crime of the age." The theories of the Professors are but the "conjectures of nightflies." There was but one author of the Pentateuch, whom he somewhat too familiarly calls "old Moses."

We are becoming familiar with the Jehovist, Elohist, Priestly Writer, and Redactor of the Pentateuch, whose reality is now fairly well established. Though Rupprecht regards them as in the strictest sense nonentities, yet to his imagination they soon become real enough. He usually treats "dear J." and "good friend P." with studied civility. He makes the Redactor the chief butt of his humour. He maintains—and he is so far right—that no consistent account has yet been given of the character and work of this compiler. He makes the most of the uncertainty. "Tell me, my poor Redactor," he says, if we may summarise, "tell me what is your true character, you play so many parts. Sometimes you are an inspired genius, at other times no better than a dullard. Now you figure as a learned investigator, again you are woefully ignorant. One thing is clear: you are a very ill-used person. Well for your critics that you are not alive, or you might sue them for defamation of character. They make a poor scapegoat of you. At times you are a real martyr. Looking at your various rôles, I tell you what you really are: you are a *genialer Esel*, an ass of genius." Having come to that conclusion, he abides by it throughout.

He makes a brave show of going through Strack's book, and dealing with the arguments in it *seriatim*. The professors have told him that his previous books are lacking in detail-work. On the principle of learning from the foe, he resolves that there shall be no absence of details in this volume. "To the critics I will become a critic," are his brave words. But criticism is irksome work, and other ways of arguing are so much easier, that in spite of himself he slides back into his old methods. It is easier to tell stories of good men, mostly youthful, who have been inoculated with the critical bacillus, and have had distressing experiences, among them one poor theological student who caught the "morbus," and turned to—Philology; it is easier to abuse one's opponents and throw doubts, not so much upon their sincerity as their sanity; it is easier to express amazement at the general human folly than to meet a particular argument or to keep one's attention fixed on a clear and simple issue.

The best thing in the book is the writer's "Dream of the Critical Magic-mirror," somewhat after the manner of Richter. Consider-

ably shortened, it is as follows:—"I thought I stood before a critical tribunal, appointed to judge me for my sin in writing this book. I was in a darkened chamber hung with thick curtains. . . . Silently, with triumphant mien Siegfried [not of the Niebelungen, but he of Jena], followed by others, led me to a small room, with the superscription, γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, which awoke in me lively recollections of the fate of Socrates. To my joy no poison-cup stood on the table. They brought me to the critical magic-mirror. One of them said to me in tones of irony, 'Herr Pastor, what do you see?' I answered in accordance with truth, 'Nothing.' Every one shook his head, and the same voice said, 'Please to look again.' My eyes had by this time grown accustomed to the twilight. I spake: 'Now I see—myself.' Again there was general astonishment. 'You *must* see something else. Look steadily, keenly, deeply: what do you see now?' They were right. What I saw was astounding. My poor head, which for many years had caused me so much pain, was split into three heads, none of which bore more than a distant resemblance to me. . . . There flashed through my brain the thought of old 'P.' 'J.' and 'R.,' who would now have their revenge on me. . . . 'What makes you so pale?' said one of the sinister Vehmgericht. 'I am three,' I stammered, as annihilated. 'You have had a great experience,' was the reply, 'may it make you wise. Learn that no one can rise against the great goddess *Kritik* with impunity. Leave the vain battle with the Genius that hovers over the end of the nineteenth century. . . . As a distinguished English critical theologian says, it is vain to fight against wind-mills.' . . . But I said to myself, it is a magic-mirror. . . . When I was again under the free air of heaven I resolved that I would never rest till I had helped to shiver to atoms this demoniacal critical magic-mirror which turns the heads of many pious men, and blinds them."

J. STRACHAN.

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### Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian,

*Die Paulikianer im Byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Svo, pp. xii. 163. Price, M. 5.*

THE Armenian monastery of Edschmiazin, near Mount Ararat, has already taken its place beside those of Athos and Sinai, as a possible storehouse of lost treasures of Christian literature. More than one recently discovered document of importance has been unearthed within its walls. And now one of its members comes

forward with a monograph on one of the obscurer sides of early Church History, which is a further proof of the welcome revival of intellectual activity in the Eastern Churches. M. Karapet holds the rank of Archdeacon at Edschmiazin, but dates his preface from Leipzig, where he has qualified himself both as a student of Church History and as a fluent writer of German. He has not, indeed, overcome all the difficulties of wielding a foreign language; and the inherent obscurity of the subject is not lessened by occasional obscurities in his style. Nevertheless, both he and we are to be congratulated on the result. It marks the appearance of a scholar who puts at our disposal reliable resources hitherto locked up in a language known to but few European students.

The importance of the Paulicians has been appraised in a sentence by Dr Döllinger, who described them as "the true link between the Gnostics of antiquity and those of the Middle Ages, the bridge of passage from the one to the other." They form part of that stream of heresy which runs parallel with Catholic truth, and appears no less continuous and indestructible. Of false doctrines there be many, but of real heresies only a few are possible. A real heresy proceeds from a false *Weltanschauung*, such as necessarily involves the denial of the relationship of God and men, revealed by Holy Scripture, and in Christ. One of these perennial falsities of conception is the dualistic theory which unites Manichæans, Paulicians, Albigenses, Cathari, and countless other sects, and is not without its representatives in some modern developments of Christianity.

The origin and early history of the Paulicians has not been subjected to thorough and independent examination since the work of Gieseler; the Armenian authorities at the disposal of European scholars have been confined to the Latin translation of Ozniensis and Tschamtshian's *History of Armenia*, which dates from the end of last century. It is this origin and early history which M. Karapet investigates anew in the light of a new estimate of the authorities.

The two main authorities for the teaching and history of the early Paulicians have been Photius ("*Contra Manichæos*"), and Petrus Siculus ("*Historia Manichæorum*"). To these must be added the work ("*Contra Paulicianos*") of the Armenian Patriarch, Johannes Ozniensis. All three of these our author lays aside—the first two as secondary and late, the third as handling not Paulicians (in spite of the Latin translation of his title), but Messalians. For a primary authority he turns to a document which has hitherto been disregarded, which Gieseler printed as "*Appendix ad Petrum Siculum*," and dismissed as an abbreviation of the foregoing document. An examination of the *Chronicle of the Monk Georgios Hamartolos* makes two things clear, first that Photius and Petrus

Siculus both derive the bulk of their information from a third source, whether it be from Hamartolos himself or another further back; and second, that the monk himself had before him and in part copied the account in this appendix to Petrus Siculus. The author of the appendix is identified as another Petrus, distinguished as Hegumenos; and he, according to Karapet, must be taken as the earliest and most authoritative source concerning the Paulicians. The first section of this volume contains an analysis and comparison of these authorities which places it beyond doubt that Georgios copied the appendix almost verbatim, and goes far to show that Photius derived either directly or indirectly from the same source, enlarging upon it for polemical purposes, while Petrus Siculus followed and added to Photius.

If therefore we are to obtain a true conception of the early Paulicians, uncontaminated by later developments and controversies, we must fix our attention on Petrus Hegumenos. He wrote his account not later than the first half of the ninth century. And there, stripped of later additions, we find the foundation of the sect laid by Paul and John, instructed by their mother in "the Manichæan heresy," and sent out as missionaries "to the Armenians"—the reformation of the sect after a short period by one Constantine—the "Gospel and the Apostle" (probably Luke and Paul) as the sole scriptural basis of their teaching—and the fundamental distinction of their doctrine from that of the Church in the proclamation of "two principles," the heavenly Father whose dominion extends only over the supra-mundane world, and the Creator who rules alone over the world. The mother of Christ is the heavenly Jerusalem, into which he has entered for our sakes. Both sacraments are decisively rejected, the word of Christ being the sole means of fellowship with Him. They reject the cross in every form. Christ Himself is the true Cross. The Old Testament is valueless, and in the New, Peter is excluded from authority and even from salvation. Siculus, on the other hand, adds other characteristics which belong to the Paulicians of a later and more eclectic type. He describes different people.

The question next arises, To what combination of forces was the rise of this sect in the middle of the seventh century due? to what earlier tendency within or without the Church is it related? The old reference to Manichæanism will not suffice. It does not account for all the facts. In seeking a more satisfactory explanation, M. Karapet proceeds in his second section to discuss those heretical movements on Armenian soil which show any relation to Paulicianism. It is a strange field into which he conducts us, the fringe of the Empire and of the Church. The mountainous districts of Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia were the birthplace or the home

of numberless sects and systems. Recalcitrant to tradition, impervious to Hellenic philosophy, they discarded with seeming indifference one after another of the doctrines of Christianity, and annexed to the remainder most incongruous elements from external systems. From one another they can be differentiated only with great difficulty. M. Karapet makes the attempt to disentangle Messalians, Borboritones, Thondrakians, and Thulailians, to mention only the better known names. He has the command of many authorities which are almost or altogether unknown to western students, in the Armenian controversialists and historians. Some of the more important documents he translates in his appendix. He ascribes great influence to the Messalians, whom he identifies not only in the *Mlzne* of Armenian literature, but in the "Paulicians" of Ozniensis. The Messalians are followed by the Paulicians proper, and these by the Thondrakians. But the succession is chronological, not genetic. Paulicianism had a double root, the one through Messalianism in Oriental paganism, the other through Marcionism in Christianity.

Further points of interest which arise in the discussion are the relation of these sects to Iconoclasm and their fraternisation and subsequent coalition with Mahommedanism. Sympathetic relations were readily established between this deformed Christianity and Islam, on the ground of their common hatred of external ceremonial, of image-worship, and of the Catholic Church. Those who should have represented Catholicism in the East were heretics in the eye of the Church no less than these heretics in intention. The decree of Chalcedon had acted as a solvent on the Church of the East. Western Asia was practically lost to Catholic Christianity long before it fell under the authority of Mahommed.

In analysing the effects of the Council of Chalcedon upon the subsequent history of the East M. Karapet gives an exposition of the doctrinal position of the Armenian Church, which coming authoritatively from within deserves particular attention. "It is customary to proceed on the distinct assumption that whatever rejects the decree of Chalcedon is necessarily monophysite. The historical fact, however, is that only those Churches deserve the name which have their origin in the monophysite controversy itself, and acknowledge themselves successors of Eutyches and his companions. The Armenian Church, however, arose from the first as an independent and national church, in political and ecclesiastical circumstances quite different from those of the Church of the Empire. When in the Empire the monophysite controversy was proceeding, the Armenian church was battling for existence with the Persians. With Eutyches and his successors she had nothing to do, but rejects them together with their doctrines. The decree of Chalcedon produced only this result, that she ceased to take any part directly in the

dogmatic development of the greater Church. She rejected the doctrine of the two Natures, but not (as is commonly assumed) because she had received a bad translation of the Acts of Chalcedon, rather because living in a spirit of healthy religion she was bound to have the feeling that these metaphysical speculations led to absurdities, precisely as was manifested later in the doctrine of two Wills. The Armenian was separated by its intrinsic character from the Greek Church, and could not possibly allow a union to be forced upon it, which was equivalent to the loss of its own existence. This must be clearly borne in mind in order to understand the stubborn conflict which it waged against the decree of Chalcedon."

The third section of the work is an attempt to gather up the results in an historical sketch of Paulicianism. Here M. Karapet has hardly done justice to his own labours. His building is slight in comparison with his foundation-work. What we want is a delineation of the sect at each of the stages represented by the Hegumenos, Photius, and Siculus, with some suggestions of the influences to which various modifications are due. Our author contents himself with indicating the probable influences which precede its birth. He confirms the view cautiously put forward by Dr Döllinger (*Beiträge zu Sektengeschichte*), that we have to look rather to Marcion than to Manes for the original impulse of Paulicianism. The points of contact are found in the form of their dualism, which does not advance to the identification of the rival principles with spirit and matter, in their rejection of the Apostle Peter, in their view of the birth of Christ, and very clearly in the phrase used to describe their Canon, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος. "The Paulicians whom we have before us are nothing more or less than the true successors of the Marcionites, and the reform which one Constantine may have effected can have been nothing else than the restoration and revival of a purer and more original Marcionism."

It remains, however, to be explained, and M. Karapet offers no adequate explanation, how the Marcionites came to be Paulicians, and how, moreover, the tradition of their origin so persistently associates them with the Manichees. The latest witness for the existence of the Marcionites under that name is Eznik, the Armenian Bishop of the fifth century. There must have followed a period when all dualistic teaching was gathered under the name of Manichæanism, from which again, in the following century, the Paulicians differentiated themselves by reverting to the Marcionite type.

With the deportation of the great bulk of the sect to Thrace, under the Emperor Tzmiscès, there begins a new and better known period of its history. The hoped-for conversion followed only in

name. The leaven of dualistic teaching was firmly implanted on European soil. Centuries later its activity was manifested in the Cathari and Albigenses. As Dr Lea says (i. 91), "In all essentials the doctrine of the Paulicians was identical with that of the Albigenses." It spread like an epidemic over Western Europe. It was a menace not only to Catholicism but to Christianity, and the proceedings of the Inquisitors, the handbooks, such as that of Bernard of Gui, bear witness at once to the danger and subtlety of the heresy, and to the obstinate determination of the heretics to die for their faith. The testimony of Theophanes regarding the Paulicians (ἀδύνατον ἦν τοὺς τῇ πλανῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐαλωκότας μετανοῆσαι) is echoed by Bernard Guidonis in the fourteenth century, "Secta Manichæorum mori potius eligunt quam converti."

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### Dualism and Monism, and other Essays.

*By John Veitch, LL.D., late Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow, with an Introduction by R. M. Wenley, D.Sc. London and Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 260. Price, 4s. 6d. net.*

THE volume contains three Essays. The first gives the title to the book. It discusses the following points:—Realism and Common Sense; Phenomenalism; The Independence of Things; Being and Law; Phenomenal Monadism. The second Essay consists of the opening chapter of a History of Philosophy projected by the author, and having reference to the theory of "progress by antagonism." This Essay includes a searching criticism of the Method of Hegel. The third Essay is a reprint of a paper originally contributed to the Transactions of the Wordsworth Society. There is also an Introduction by the Editor, which may at once be characterised as interesting, judicious, and informing. It describes Professor Veitch's position in philosophy, and gives a charming picture of an unobtrusive but powerful and attractive personality.

The volume is a sequel to another bearing the title "Knowing and Being," which was noticed in an earlier number of this Review. The present volume has all the characteristic marks of the writer. We see here a critical faculty of remarkable acuteness, a relentless logic, a lofty spirit, temper, and purpose, and the old allegiance to Hamilton.

The first Essay is on a theme in which the Professor took abundant delight. In form it is a critical review of a volume by M.

Dauriac, entitled *Croyance et Réalité*: in substance it is an acute and able defence of the Hamiltonian position. The argument does not admit of a brief statement.

The second Essay is a torso. It is a fragment of a task unhappily incompletely performed, yet containing a fruitful idea, and giving promise, had the author been spared to put his thoughts into shape, of an original and attractive work. With the criticism of Hegel's method one is reluctantly compelled, on logical grounds, to coincide. The defects of that method are clearly shown. It is, in fact, a deductive method, as truly as was that of Campanella. It is rather an ordaining than an investigation, a declaring how things ought to be rather than how they are. In that portion of the Essay which asks what is left of Hegel's view the author does not so completely carry our sympathy. The Idealism is left which means—Mind first, Mind ever at work, Mind alone creating and accomplishing.

It would have been interesting had the critic here attempted an Ontology. It would have made this Essay a supplement and complement to the Essay that precedes it. No one believes that Realism has given us the last word in Philosophy. The antithesis of mind and matter is a crude ending of the attempt to unify knowledge. The Bible solution is given in its opening words—"In the beginning God." The belief is not without ground which sees in Hegel's teaching one of the ways in which the human mind has sought to give philosophic expression to that solution. No attempt is made in these Essays to estimate the strength or service of Hegel; to show the value of his interpretations of thought and history, or the invincible force of his criticisms. His philosophical system may be regarded as having historical interest only, but the wealth of his fertile and inspiring mind is a permanent dower of the race.

The Essay on Wordsworth, with which the volume closes, is at once beautiful, persuasive, and successful. It is a vindication of his theism: yet one feels that a generous sympathy has led the author to be more propitious to Wordsworth than to Hegel—more propitious than he found it possible to be, with logical consistency, to Hegel. One wishes that, with the same mood upon him, he had dealt with the philosopher as with the poet.

In laying down the book, one feels that he has been in contact with a strong and beautiful spirit.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

### German Philosophical Classics.

*Edited by Professor G. S. Morris, and comprising critical expositions, designed for English readers and students, of the Master-pieces of German thought:—Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, by the Editor; Kant's Ethics, by the late President Noah Porter; Fichte's Science of Knowledge, by Professor C. C. Everett; Schelling's Transcendental Idealism, by Professor John Watson; Hegel's Logic, by Dr Wm. T. Harris; Hegel's Aesthetics, by Professor Kedney; Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History, by the Editor; Leibnitz's New Essays concerning the Human Understanding, by Professor John Dewey. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Price, \$1.25 each volume. Hegel's Logic, \$1.50.*

THESE volumes form an admirable supplement to the series issued by Messrs Blackwood, though they have not yet received the welcome in England to which their conspicuous merit entitles them. The obvious difference between the two series lies in the circumstance that, while the English Series is biographical as well as expository, these volumes confine themselves to critical exposition. The peculiarity of the Series under notice is that, with one exception, each volume takes some one great master-piece as its subject; sets forth its special purport and substance; expounds and interprets its doctrine; furnishes a critical estimate of its merits and defects; and shows, where possible, the relation of the subject matter to other systems of thought.

The editor opens the Series with a volume on Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. The translator of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy and the author of "Philosophy and Christianity" is sure to give us work efficiently done, and no one, desiring a knowledge of Kant's intellectual position and of the bearing of his speculations on vital questions, need go wrong under the guidance of Professor Morris. His exposition is marked by accuracy; a sense of proportion; ample knowledge of the subject and of the wants of students. This judgment could be easily sustained did space permit.

The volume on the *Ethics* of Kant is by the late President of Yale, Dr Noah Porter, and is an admirable example of the power he possessed of exposition, discrimination, and argument. The task could hardly have been entrusted to better hands.

Fichte's *Science of Knowledge* is critically expounded by Professor C. C. Everett of Harvard. The writer of the volume enters with keen sympathy into the very spirit of the author, and greatly aids in the understanding of his thinking. The self-repression of the writer is most exemplary. It is Fichte himself who speaks, and

through an interpreter who for the most part reminds one of the effect of the morning sun on the mists of night. The writer closes a deeply interesting volume with a critical estimate of Fichte's philosophy, pointing out its limitations, and comparing it with the writings of Schopenhauer and Hegel.

Schelling's *Idealism* is treated by Professor Watson of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Schelling changed so frequently that he has been regarded by the student much as a photographer regards a restless sitter. Our author's view is that the changes were marked by coherence and continuity. He works out this argument with admirable lucidity and power.

Schelling's philosophical faith passed through three successive stages: they were stages of advance in his philosophical education, and they were signalized by the issuing of Treatises. In the first stage, he is under the influence of Fichte. The only Supreme Reality for him is the Moral Order of the world as revealed to the individual in the idea of a Moral Perfection to which man can only approximate: his life consists in the struggle to attain this. In the second stage, man and nature are regarded as two co-ordinate manifestations of a single activity that is revealed in each with equal fulness and perfection. In the third stage, the attempt is made to prove the Personality of God while preserving the freedom and the moral responsibility of man maintained in the earlier stages.

There is thus no break in the continuity of his philosophy. In the first stage or period, he is not concerned to deny the reality of an "Objective God," though he is not concerned to maintain it, but he catches a glimpse of the glory of God in the ideal of infinite Moral Perfection, and he perfectly grasps the principle of human freedom. In the second stage or period, he does not let go the freedom and responsibility of man, but discovers that nature is the expression of a rational process, and hence that man and nature are alike manifestations of something not themselves. In the third stage, he seeks to gather up all the elements of truth already discovered, and to view them in the perfect unity of a Personal God. He was, therefore, ever moving on to a goal.

All this is worked out in the volume before us with consummate skill. The interest is sustained throughout, partly because the intellectual development of a singularly gifted mind is here sympathetically and ably traced, and partly because we are here at the point of transition from Kant through Fichte to Hegel.

There are three volumes of the series on Hegel: let us see precisely what they do for us. Philosophy, as Hegel understands and develops it, is all comprised under three heads. The first is *Logic*, which considers abstract notions, which expounds scientifically the categories of the mind or of all thinking experience. It begins

with the thought of pure being, of all thoughts the most abstract, elementary, and contentless. It passes forward till it ends with the "Idea" of absolute, self-conscious Personality; the thought which includes all thoughts, and which they all imply. The realm is that of the abstract, the ideal and subjective, but a realm which presupposes an objective realm in which the abstract is realised and becomes valid.

This branch of Hegel's philosophy is treated in a volume of the series under notice. The author of the volume is Dr William T. Harris, U.S. Commissioner of Education. It was he who in the year 1867 founded the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for the express purpose of introducing Hegel's works to the notice of American students. He has done, says Dr Macbride Sterrett of him, more than any other man to familiarize Americans with the thoughts of Hegel. He has long been known as an open-minded disciple and interpreter and critic of Hegel. The history of his mental experiences, in intellectual fellowship with the philosopher during many years, is given in a most interesting autobiographical introduction to the present volume. No man has a better claim to be heard by the student of Hegel, and every attentive reader of this volume will be thankful for his enlightening guidance.

Hegel next develops his philosophy of *Nature*. Nature is the realm in which the abstract terms of thought which logic contemplates are realised and become objective. Nature is that objective reality which is the proximate ground, or condition, of the thought with which logic is concerned. Here the ideal and the subjective become real and objective. This head of doctrine is not expressly dealt with in the volumes before us.

The Philosophy of Man, which is the Philosophy of *Spirit*, is the third head of philosophical doctrine. In man Nature culminates. Man, self-conscious, thinking, willing, acting, is objective and subjective, ideal and real in one. You have in man explicitly and more perfectly what you have in Nature implicitly and imperfectly. If Nature may be spoken of as spiritual, it is in figure only or potency; the figure and the potency appear in man in literal and accomplished fact. Hence the Philosophy of Man is pre-eminently the Philosophy of Spirit.

Now this Philosophy of Spirit embraces three points. The first, which considers the natural character of man as a spiritual being, and includes Anthropology and Psychology, is termed Subjective Spirit. It deals with the individual. The *Philosophy of the State* is next considered. Here man is regarded in his domestic, economic, and political relations, under the head of Objective Spirit. Thought is no longer limited to the subjective and the individual. In the third subdivision, man is considered in the perfection of his spiritual

character and functions under the head of Absolute Spirit. Here come in for treatment *the Philosophy of Art, the Philosophy of Religion*, and Philosophy pure and simple; and we are led into the very arcana of the philosophy of Hegel; into the Presence Chamber of the Absolute Spirit, the Supreme and Perfect object of philosophy and thought—the self-conscious, self-revealing God, through whom and for whom are all things, man approaching the character of absolute spirituality in the measure in which he recognises, and lives in conscious and voluntary dependence on, the Everlasting and truly Absolute Spirit, which is God.

Such is the development, and it makes clear to us that the Philosophy of Spirit is supreme with Hegel. The fuller recognition and apprehension of Absolute Spirit is that to which all knowledge progressively tends. God is the Interpreter of all human experience, the beginning and the end of all absolute reality. The Absolute and Perfect Spirit is seen, in the issue, to be the explanation of all, the ground of all, in the realm of thought, and in the realm of objective reality. God is not the result of development, but is its eternal, omnipresent, and ever-efficient pre-condition.

Returning now to the volumes before us that treat of Hegel's philosophy, it is to be observed that the first, in interpreting Hegel's *Logic*, throws a bright light on his whole system of thought; that the second, written by Professor Kedney, himself the author of a book on a kindred subject, interprets Hegel's *Æsthetics*; and that the third, written by the editor of the series, interprets Hegel's theory of the *State* and of *History*. The former of these two volumes may be warmly commended to all who are interested in art; while the latter is full of brilliant suggestion, and may profitably be studied alike by theologians, preachers, and social reformers. From all this it will be seen that important aid for understanding Hegel is here offered to the English student. A promised volume, much to be desired, on Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* has not yet appeared, leaving the top-stone yet to be laid, but it is a noble building that has been rising stone by stone.

The volume by Professor Dewey on Leibnitz's *New Essays* will be found to throw light on his whole system of thought, and on its relations to other ways of thinking. As a critical exposition it is worthy to stand in the series of which it is a member.

Looking at the volumes as a whole, it may be honestly and thankfully affirmed that they expound with great fulness and care, and that they criticise with judgment, the thinking of the great minds that made modern Germany the rival, in intellectual activity and subtlety of thought, of ancient Greece in its palmy days. They form, therefore, a welcome addition to our philosophical literature.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

## Metaphysik.

*Metaphysik, von Franz Ehrhardt, Privat-Dozent an der Universität Jena. Erster Band: Erkenntnistheorie. Leipzig: R. Reisland. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. 642. Price, 12s.*

THE scope of this work will be best indicated by a summary of the table of contents. (1) The Task devolving on a Theory of Knowledge; (2) Experience; (3) Naïve Realism; (4) The Realism of Natural Science; (5) The Apriority of Space: its Significance; The Subjective Origin of the Idea; Kant's Demonstration of the Apriority of Space and Geometrical Certainty; Criticism of Psychological Theories of Space; The Localisation of Sensations; (6) The Ideality of Space: Proof Supplied by the Theory of Knowledge, and by Metaphysics; Secondary Evidence; Rebutment of the Chief Objections; (7) The Apriority of Time; (8) The Ideality of Time; (9) Causality and Substantiality; (10) Various Forms of Subjective Idealism; (11) The Thing-in-Itself: its Derivation; Phenomenon; (12) The Limits of Knowledge.

Its real subject, as the summary shows, is defined by the subordinate title, *Erkenntnistheorie* (Theory of Knowledge).

It is now-a-days surely a rather antiquated procedure to include the theory of knowledge in metaphysics. Herr Ehrhardt makes an attempt, indeed, to justify it; but by conceding, as he does, that the question of the objective metaphysical import and reality of what is given in experience cannot be properly discussed till that of the rise of experience, in other words, the primary problem of the theory of knowledge, has been dealt with, he cuts away the ground from under his own feet. There is, of course, a sense in which no philosophical problem can be solved independently, either of epistemological, or also of psychological, and even of other problems; but this is not the author's plea for the confusion with which he is chargeable.

The purpose of the work is more precisely defined as the exposition of a theory of Experience (*Erfahrung*), so far as metaphysical problems are thereby affected. This is the limit the author sets himself. Not only does he exclude questions of psychology and the like, but even that of the possibility of synthetical judgments *a priori*, with which Kant opened his "*Kritik d. r. Vernunft*"—a question which he would relegate to Logic; though he, at the same time, objects to the inclusion in Logic of problems such as the possibility of experience, on the ground that Logic has to accept experience as a fact, not to explain it.

After defending the possibility of a "theory of knowledge" against Hegel's objections on the one side, and Comte's on the other, he proceeds to define the meaning and scope of "Experience." The experience to be investigated is that of the investigator himself, not, however, merely as his separate individual experience, but as identical with the consentient experience of persons of ripe years, who are capable of interchanging thought.

The content of this consensus is, first and foremost, the external world, then the inner world of the soul—both with their infinite variety of objects and the qualities, activities, changes, laws thereof; each allowed even by the materialist to be irreducibly distinct from the other.

But in what sense is the existence of an outward world to be defined as a fact of experience? As the author avows himself to be a transcendental idealist, one cannot but be curious how he will answer this question. "Only so far as we keep to the point of view of experience is it permissible, in a preliminary way, to maintain the existence of the corporeal world. But we do this when we take for granted the existence of a knowing subject, which finds an external world as part of its actual experience. Whether the said world will remain or disappear altogether, or undergo a total change after we cease to take this for granted, and proceed to discuss the question, Do things exist in themselves independently of our perception? it is not permissible for us to enquire, as long as we occupy the standpoint of experience. It cannot, however, be doubted that from the point of view of experience, we are warranted in affirming the existence of the outward world as a fact." "We maintain accordingly that for our experience everything is actual or real, or, still better, that we designate everything 'real,' the reality of which is guaranteed by perception, acting under normal conditions, and against which no negative case can be adduced."

This seems to me, I confess, a somewhat lame conclusion; for what does it amount to save that as long as we mean by reality, real presence in perception, we are at full liberty to affirm that it is real; but if we mean by real what the common mind means, namely, real independent of perception, we have no right to call it real. To say the least, it is a roundabout way of confessing that real is simply real to us. But roundaboutness is rather a characteristic of Herr Ehrhardt's mode of discussing the problems passed in review.

The work as a whole is both a defence, an elucidation, and a criticism of Kant's "*Kritik*." More than half of it is taken up with the question of the apriority and ideality of time and space, as to which the author avows his agreement with Kant. New results, in the strict sense, therefore, in this regard he does not profess to present; but he believes himself to have offered new arguments in

support of Kant's position and against opposed views ; and expresses the hope that his investigations will not only help to lay bare the weakness of the empiricism and realism which at present dominate scientific literature, but do something towards turning the tide in favour of Kant's theory.

Whilst endorsing Kant's view of space and time, he altogether rejects his doctrine that a certain number of pure concepts of the understanding, along with the principles thence arising, are subjective conditions of the possibility of experience. The reference is in particular to the principle of causality and that of the persistence of substance or matter. In his view the concept, causation, or effectuation arises solely from experience ; and for that reason is applicable, *not* to phenomena, *but* to things in themselves. He further asserts—also in opposition to his master—the knowableness of things-in-themselves, and in reasoning out this point is led to the “important result that all the active principles in nature are to be regarded as absolutely real, and that the thing-in-itself of the corporeal world is to be viewed as a system of forces.” He equally questions Kant's assumption that the ideality of psychical phenomena follows from that of time, and that to allow the reality thereof involves the rejection of the ideality of time.

The doctrine of the absolute reality of the forces of nature, just referred to, involves the position that a thing-in-itself is immediately given in our inner experience, namely, each man's self as a psychical being, and that the soul is in reality “one of the special dynamic principles which work in nature, and which form a great hierarchical system ; in fact, so far as we know, the highest”—a view of the ultimate elements of the cosmos substantially identical with that of Lotze.

In the light of these and other considerations he considers it possible to demonstrate the erroneousness of the notion that “transcendental idealism converts the empirical world into pure seeming, and robs our experiential knowledge of all objective value.”

These are some of the main features of the work. It is certainly not without its merits ; it is well fitted, for example, to serve as an introduction to the study of the great questions that are in debate between Empiricists and Realists on the one side, and Apriorists and Idealists on the other. In this regard its very prolixity may be an advantage. But one may be allowed to doubt whether it will inaugurate—as the writer seems to hope—a new epoch in the branch of philosophy to which it is devoted.

D. W. SIMON.

**Handkommentar zum Alten Testament: Die Klagelieder  
des Jeremia übersetzt und erklärt.**

*Von Dr Mar Löhr, Professor der Theologie in Breslau. Göttingen :  
Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. xx. 26. Price, 1s. 6d.*

**A Short Commentary on the Book of Lamentations :  
Chapter I.**

*By the Rev. A. W. Greenup, M.A. Hertford : Austin & Sons.  
1893. 12mo, pp. 52. Price, 2s.*

PROFESSOR LÖHR'S condensed commentary on Lamentations appears under highly favourable conditions. In 1891 he published a valuable and more extensive treatise on this book, so that, when wisely invited afterwards to prepare the present work for the series of handy commentaries now in course of publication under the editorship of Professor Nowack, few contributors perhaps could have been more fitted to accomplish so satisfactorily the task assigned. Abundant material was ready for adaptation, while judicious criticism of friends, together with his own more mature reflection, showed how such a work could be improved. Considering further the space-limitation imposed in this series, it is obvious that Professor Löhr has now given to the public the cream of his thought on this book of the Old Testament. The scholarly commentary is admirable in itself, and promises to be one of the best in the series. It is a marvel of cheapness ; the printing is excellent.

Mr Greenup's work is one of considerable merit, but unfortunately is a mere fragment, consisting of Notes on the First Chapter of Lamentations, with no Introduction. Seeing that the whole is specially designed to aid "those who are just beginning the critical study of the poetical books of the Hebrew Bible," it is perhaps too much to expect students at such a stage to read and understand the comments frequently cited from Rabbinical writers, or to make out the occasional quotations from the Targums. Attention is rightly called to the unusual accentuation (in ver. 1) of the archaic form *rabbāthî* on the penult: it would have been well to indicate also the euphonic reason. On page 5 we read that (in ver. 1): "The Massoretic accentuation is neglected by the LXX. and the Vulgate"; but as the Hebrew text was without accents, or even vowel-points, till centuries after the Septuagint translators had completed their work, these cannot be said to have "neglected" signs which had not yet been invented and used.

The work contains a large amount of valuable material, displaying the varied scholarship and general ability of the author.

JAMES KENNEDY.

## **Der Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu im Verhältniss zu den messianischen Hoffnungen seines Volkes, und zu seinem eigenen Messiasbewusstsein.**

*Von Lic. Eugen Ehrhardt. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 119.*

DR EHRLHARDT assures us in the preface to this book that his object in dealing with such a subject is to endeavour to answer the question, "Can we still look upon Jesus as our supreme guide in matters of conduct or not?" For Dr Ehrhardt's mind this question resolves itself into another as to how far Jesus succeeded in transcending the limitations of the popular Messianic ideas of His time, and in proclaiming an ethic free, pure, and universal.

With a view to answering this latter question, Dr Ehrhardt devotes the first section of his book to a careful statement of the Ethical problem with which, in consequence of the peculiar development of later Judaism, Jesus and His contemporaries found themselves confronted: while the second section deals with the solution of the problem which Jesus offered.

I. *The First Section* begins with a glance at the prophets. Here we are assured that the prophetic ethic was essential Messianic. The aim of all ethical striving was for them a future period of Messianic bliss on this earth, to be enjoyed by a holy remnant of the people—and in this ideal such really different elements were inextricably blended as divine fellowship and earthly lordship.

Further, it was essentially a social ethic—the individual could partake of the supreme good only as a member of the people of God.

*In the second place*, the Law is dealt with from a similar point of view. Here it is maintained that the Law too is essentially Messianic in character, being regarded as the absolutely perfect means of attaining the supreme good. It tended, too, to separate Israel from the rest of the world, and thus to strengthen their expectation of final lordship in the earth. Consequently, upon the whole, it was unsuited to develop the really religious element in Israel's hopes about the future.

*Thirdly*, the period of the Apocalyptic Literature is considered. It is here that the real problem arose. Now, under external pressure, Israel abandoned the hope of a glorious earthly future, and looked for the magical appearance of a heavenly life of bliss for God's people. Now, too, the individual also began to expect a palingenesia. Yet from lack of real religious experience the people were unable to conceive of any future but one really earthly in character. They really depreciated not this life and this world, but just the Present; and their thoughts about the future continued to

have an earthly tone. Hence, then, the dilemma of that time. The Messianic system contained an inner contradiction, refusing, on the one hand, to demand an interest in the social and political affairs of this world, it was yet unable, on the other hand, to pronounce a thorough and sincere condemnation upon this life and this world, and thus it proved itself powerless to furnish a definite ethic or a powerful moral stimulus.

II. In the second section we have a careful, if complicated statement of the solution which Jesus offered to the problem.

Dr Ehrhardt insists that Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God was harmonious and consistent throughout and emphatically eschatological.

He did not oppose the tendency to turn from the world, but purified and deepened it, setting before men the ideal of becoming at home in a higher world. Further, He freed this ideal from any exclusively national colouring, and definitely regarded individuals as the bearers of this supreme good. Hence Christ's gospel had power to determine conduct, and led to a definite following of the real aim and spirit of the law which Christ regarded as the true "fulfilling of the law."

Yet Dr Ehrhardt finds another moral mood in Jesus teaching, viz., one concerned with human common life.

The reconciliation of these two tendencies is found in the special character of Christ's relation to God. Christ had direct personal knowledge of God dependent neither upon nature nor upon history. No earthly goods mediated His enjoyment of God. He possessed what the pious Israelite only longed for. In a sense this God is far from the world and foreign to it; it is unholy, and God is holy. Yet is God near to man's soul; and as Christ lived so truly in God's presence He was able to turn again to the world, and take a real interest in it. He could regard it as a field opened to Him for work for God, and felt compelled to attempt to realize in the actual world the good He had reached in His inner life.

Clearly, however, Christ's religious disposition is quite opposed to that of the Messianic system. This supreme good is mediated by nothing earthly, and if He talked the language of the Messianic system the real spirit of His gospel depended upon His own experience.

What is common to Jesus and that system is the eschatological character of His religious disposition. He thinks of this world as at best only a relative good, He would have men see in communion with God the real supreme good, and while He accepts the title Messiah He is concerned to establish a new conception of the Messiah, and to teach other truths than those popularly connected with that name.

The book finishes with an interesting section on The New Messianic Ethic.

As Christ expected a great world catastrophe in the near future, He makes His ideal absolute and knows nothing of relative goods or aims. Hence arose a danger on the one hand of dreamy and unregulated enthusiasm, and on the other of a barren legalism—dangers which in the history of Christendom have both had manifest and evil results.

Lastly, there seems to be a contradiction in Christ's teaching, part of it laying down rules for social life, and part demanding a disposition to turn from the world. But this contradiction disappears when we realize how Christ really thought of the moral life. From a standpoint really raised above all earthly good, men are yet to turn to the world, and to seek to realize God's will there; they are not to win their supreme good by good practice, they are to possess it to begin with and to work well in its strength.

Probably it will be felt that Dr Ehrhardt lays too much stress upon the eschatological and ascetic aspects of Christ's Teaching, and that Christ's joy in the natural world and his thought of God as the real ruler in all earthly affairs, played a greater part than is here suggested. But when Dr Ehrhardt finds in Christ's direct and personal relation to God the real secret of His whole moral and religious life, we feel that he has reached the essential point in the whole matter. It was because Christ did so live in the very presence of God that He could become the source of true religious life for others, and a moral teacher and guide for all men and all time.

This book is a complicated and sometimes tedious production. But it is without doubt successful in selecting for emphasis the very kernel of Christ's teaching, and in showing its real independence of ideas and categories of only passing worth. A. H. GRAY.

### **Paronomasia in the Old Testament.**

*By Immanuel M. Casanowicz. Boston, Mass.*

*8vo, pp. vi. 94.*

THIS is a dissertation prepared for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Johns Hopkins University, in the year 1892. The subject is one of a kind not often taken in hand. And it may be questioned whether, not so many years ago, it would have been received in the spirit, or had accorded to it the attention that may be expected for it in these days. One of the happy results of recent criticism has been to vindicate for the human element in Scripture the place to which it is rightfully entitled. Not merely have the books of the Old Testament the style which might be expected in a literary work of an oriental people, but each writer has his own style, which can generally be more or less accurately distinguished from that of others.

In respect of style, one of the most interesting elements is the "play upon words" which Mr Casanowicz makes the main subject of his dissertation. After explaining the meaning of the expression, the relation of Paronomasia to other figures, and the limits within which it is generally found, the author refers to the use of Paronomasia, first, in the classical and some of the modern languages; and secondly, in the Shemitic languages generally. Then he passes to his proper theme, and in a series of short paragraphs discusses the various forms of paronomasia in the Old Testament, such as Alliteration, Assonance, etc.

The most valuable part of the brochure is an alphabetical list of Paronomasia found in the Old Testament (pp. 44-84), followed by a classified table of the whole list. Finally, there is an index of passages containing Paronomasia arranged according to the order of the books of the Old Testament.

This little volume is not one to quote from. But it may be said that it shows considerable research on the part of the author, and contains a good deal of material (and that conveniently arranged) for the student who desires to become familiar with the niceties of the style of the Old Testament. GEO. G. CAMERON.

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### **Le Sens commun : Études de Philosophie religieuse.**

*Par Charles Poirée de Garcia. Avec une Préface de M. A. Réville.  
Paris : Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. xvii and 459.*

THIS is a curiously belated volume. Few books can safely be published twenty-five years after the death of their authors, and the disadvantages of delay are much greater in the case of a work which, like the present, partakes largely of the nature of a personal Credo or Apologia. But the delay of a quarter of a century is especially unfortunate in this publication, since M. Poirée's cast of thought was already, even for his time, decidedly antique. Like so many Frenchmen of his generation, M. Poirée, while an advanced and progressive political thinker, was in philosophy and religious thought a man of the eighteenth century. And so, while his literary remains, if published when they were probably composed, that is, some time before the end of his life, or about fifty years ago, would have possessed considerable historical interest as an expression of the personal philosophy of an old-fashioned man of that day, they come with an odd and antiquated air into the last decade of the nineteenth century.

M. Charles Poirée was a French country gentleman of a devout and serious turn of mind, who played his part as an enthusiastic republican in the political life of his native province in the second quarter of the century, and died in 1868. The present volume

contains his reflections on religious and philosophical subjects, left by him in manuscript, and now at length published by the piety of his daughter and introduced in a sympathetic and discriminating preface by M. Réville.

During the first forty years of his life M. Poirée was a convinced and devout Roman Catholic; and the manner of his transition from that faith to the Deism in which he ended is of general interest, as being highly typical of his age and country. He was, as has been said, an advanced Liberal. For long he hoped to reconcile his political with his religious creed; and the adhesion of the Roman clergy to the Revolution of 1848 brought "the happiest moment of his life." But when the same authority sanctioned the *coup d'état* of 1851, it was a tremendous shock to him; and the revulsion of feeling then set up ended in his complete rejection of the Church's authority, and with it, of the Christian faith. *For the first time*, he tells us, he read the Bible. Many parts of the Old Testament he read with painful surprise; the New Testament with suspicion and eventual incredulity. The second half of his book records his criticism of the Bible; the first half, his attempt to establish on philosophical principles the Theism in which he ultimately came to rest.

This constructive theory breathes the spirit of the eighteenth century. There is its conventional psychology, its abstract and unreal notion of "Reason"; its uncritical confidence in certain "ideas of Reason,"—God, the Soul, Immortality, Retribution—ideas whose authority is not yet undermined either by philosophical criticism (for in 1860, so far as M. Poirée is concerned, there might never have been such a person as Kant) or by the historical sense of their origin and evolution. There again is the eighteenth century belief in progress, its easy optimism.

M. Poirée's criticism of the Bible is vitiated, according to our ideas, by an absolute deficiency of historical perspective. The only revelation of which he has any idea is a revelation of supernatural truths; he admits the abstract possibility of such a revelation. The only inspiration for which he examines the Bible is an inspiration of infallibility. From this point of view the Old Testament history presents hopeless stumbling-blocks to belief in inspiration or revelation; and it never occurs to the enquirer to look amid human incompleteness and imperfections for an operation of the Divine Spirit in that history. In the same way, the contradictions of the Gospels are enough to destroy their authority; and in the triumphant refutation of the theory of "infallible" Scripture the real historical question receives but slight and hasty treatment. A real historic fact behind the Gospels is indeed recognised; M. Poirée has a mind too fine and sympathetic for the vulgar theory of imposture: "On

sent un fait vrai," he says; "on voit un homme qui a vivement frappé des imaginations." It was Baur, perhaps, who finally brought the Christian question to its true touchstone of historic fact, by beginning with what is historically positive and certain—the literature. M. Poirée's enquiries belong to an earlier phase of the controversy. It is sufficient for him to argue—"Les disparates qu'on remarque seraient suspectes de le part d'historiens ordinaires; mais on ne peut les pardonner à des écrivains inspirés. *La moindre atteinte à la vérité devient chez eux une négation complète de leur autorité, renverse leur histoire, et place l'édifice religieux bâti sur elle au rang des erreurs humaines.*"

M. Poirée's papers are chiefly interesting, then, as a "human document" and as in their way a historical monument. Everyone feels a painful interest in the movement which during this century and the last has led many educated minds in Catholic Europe towards a particular type of secularism and infidelity. Of the inner side of that movement, of its interior working, this book gives us a suggestive glimpse. The instance appears to us a representative one in many important respects.

The collapse of M. Poirée's faith, on the occasion of a political error in his spiritual guides, is a fresh illustration of the danger of leaning on a hierarchy with interests of its own to serve.

The conclusions to which it forced him are the sufficient criticism of the view of Scripture from which such an enquirer started. The definition of inspiration as infallibility led him to the rejection of the Bible. "S'il nous a révolté, ce n'es past comme ouvrage humain, mais comme œuvre divine. Nous lui pardonnons bien les imperfections du moment qu'il nous est présenté par les hommes, nous y trouvons même un ensemble rare dans les ouvrages des simples mortels. Mais nous ne pouvons pas voir sans colère qu'on nous le présenté comme l'œuvre de Dieu; dans ce cas, il serait trop indigne de son auteur."

This, at all events, is intelligible. Now-a-days the attempt is being made to help out the theory of authority by a "principle of historical development," and a double authorship, human and divine. Whether historical development and human imperfection are consistent with infallible dogmatic authority at all, and what "authority" will mean in that case, may be said to be the questions of the present moment in this connection.

The practical apologist, lastly, possesses in these pages a convenient summary of the difficulties which an honest mind may feel about the inspiration of Holy Scripture. By whatever means he may propose to answer them, he will here find the objections to the theory of an infallible Bible clearly and temperately stated.

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

**Rosenmann : Studien zum Buche Tobit.**

*Berlin : Mayer & Müller, p. viii. 41. Price 1s. 6d. : M.1.50.*

ALL the books of what may be called the canonical apocrypha were of Jewish origin, yet, possibly because they had been so generally honoured by Christians, they were for many ages sedulously neglected by the Jews. This attitude has passed away, and it is a symptom of this that the present "Studies on the books of Tobit" are the work of a Jew. It does not profess to be an exegesis or even an exhaustive investigation of all the questions involved in the introduction; it occupies itself only on some questions that arise from certain passages. As it is composed of separate Studies, the work has a fragmentary aspect, but there is a unity through the whole, since all the Studies bear more or less on the date of Tobit. If we leave out of view the position forced upon the Roman Catholic divines by the Council of Trent, there are practically two opinions to be considered, that of Ewald, who would date Tobit in the latter part of the Persian period, and that of Neubauer, who would place it in the Christian era after the destruction of Jerusalem. Rosenmann takes a position intermediate between these two, and holds it to have been composed during the course of the second pre-Christian century. His arguments against the early date—the presence of Haggadic elements—do not seem to us as conclusive as his arguments against the late. It is, so far as it goes, a very thorough and creditable piece of work. While the date is the main question involved, Rosenmann incidentally discusses the purpose of the book, and concludes, "The book is therefore nothing other than a poetical commendation (*Loblied*) of almsgiving (*ἐλεημοσύνη*) and righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*)." We could have wished the writer had discussed the question of the change of person. To the sixth verse of third chapter the narrative is in the first person, whereas after that it is in the third. At first sight this phenomenon suggests to the reader the idea of a compilation and that the source of the earlier portion is different from that of the latter—possibly it is simply due to the awkwardness of an age not accustomed to composition. In taking leave of this subject, we would note the importance of the book of Tobit as bearing on the question of the Canon. If its origin is as early as Ewald would make it, or even as early as Rosenmann would place its date, why was it excluded from the Canon, while on the theory that they are late, Daniel and Esther are included. The theory that it was the superiority of the canonical books over other contemporary books that led to this result can scarcely be maintained. The age that produced and admired Tobit and Judith was not likely to recognise that Esther was immeasurably superior to them.

J. E. H. THOMSON.

# Notices.

Dean Fremantle issues a second and revised edition of his Bampton Lectures.<sup>1</sup> The main positions affirmed in the book are these—that Christianity is “primarily a life, and secondarily a system of doctrines, public worship, and clerical government”; that the Church is “the whole community of Christian people in the whole range of their life”; that “the whole of human society is to be brought under the power of Christ”; and that each of the rings or circles of human society, the family, the communities which exist for the furtherance of science, of art, of social intercourse, of commerce, as well as for public worship, are essentially religious societies, and the nation most of all.” These positions are vindicated and illustrated at length with great variety of argument, and with the honest glow of strong conviction. There is much of Rothe’s way of looking at the question of the Church and the nation in the book. It is meant as a “challenge to Christians to reconsider their views and action” in many things. It is full of matter to provoke thought, and will probably be better received now than when it first appeared.

Professor Paul Drews, of Jena, publishes the first half of an edition of Luther’s *Disputationes* at Wittenberg in the years 1535-1545.<sup>2</sup> The volume includes the disputations on the Council of Constance, Justification, Private Mass, the Antinomians, and others. The whole is prefaced by interesting chapters on the practice which prevailed in the University of Wittenberg in Luther’s day, on Luther himself in the character of *disputator*, and on the manuscript sources available for the work. The editor has spared no pains to make the book accurate and complete. It is of importance as the first edition of these *Disputationes*, and for historical considerations.

Sigwart’s large and valuable treatise on *Logic* has already been reviewed in this journal. We have the pleasure now of noticing an excellent and most useful English translation,<sup>3</sup> which forms one of the volumes of the *Library of Philosophy*. It will be most welcome

<sup>1</sup> The World as the Subject of Redemption, being an Attempt to set forth the functions of the Church as designed to embrace the whole Race of Mankind. London: Longmans. Crown 8vo, pp. xxvii. 400. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Disputationen Dr Martin Luther’s, in d. J. 1535-1545, an der Universität Wittenberg gehalten. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 346. M.12.

<sup>3</sup> Logic. By Dr Christoph Sigwart, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Tübingen. Vol. I. The Judgment, Concept, and Inference. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Vol. II. Logical Methods. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Translated by Helen Dendy. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Medium 8vo, pp. xii. 391, and viii. 584. Price, 21s.

to English students. The translation has been a laborious task, but it has been done with intelligence and care, and will greatly extend the knowledge of this important system among English and American students.

*The Age and Authorship of the Pentateuch*<sup>1</sup> is a defence of the old view of the Mosaic books. We cannot say it is a successful defence. It goes back to a large extent to the criticism of scholars like Hengstenberg and Hävernick. It refers to others like Delitzsch, but gives no indication of acquaintance with their change of view. How far it is from understanding the position of scholars like Canon Driver, may appear from the fact that the author thinks that if the Old Testament reached its present form in the way stated by Dr Driver, it "is the work of accident, and is destitute of value for religious ends." How far he is from appreciating the position of the best critics is seen by this that he meets Ewald by Milman.

The excellent Latin edition of Adamnan's *Life of Columba* which we owe to Dr Fowler, of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, is followed up now by an English translation.<sup>2</sup> The rendering is executed, one need scarce say, with the utmost care. We owe much to Dr Fowler and to the publishers for providing us with a book of such interest in so cheap and handsome a form.

With great pleasure we refer to new issues of two books by the late Bishop Phillips Brooks, his well-known Bohlen Lectures on *The Influence of Jesus*,<sup>3</sup> and his Yale *Lectures on Preaching*,<sup>4</sup> one of the best products of a rich and noble mind, which can be read again and again with increasing profit and admiration.

*The Education of the Feelings*<sup>5</sup> is intended, as the sub-title indicates, to be "a system of moral training for the guidance of teachers, parents, and guardians of the young." The author, who died in 1885—Mr Charles Bray—was favourably known by other publications, as "The Philosophy of Necessity," "Force and its Mental Correlates," &c. This book is of old date, the first edition going back to 1838. It is now in its *fifth* edition, and deservedly so. For it says much on a subject of vital importance—the moral quality as the very heart of all true education. Its value is increased by an admirable introduction by Mr William Jolly, himself

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. William Spiers, M.A. London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 396. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Prophecies, Miracles, and Visions of St Columba (Columcille), first Abbot of Iona, A.D. 563-597. Written by St Adamnan, ninth Abbot, A.D. 679-704. A new Translation. London: Henry Frowde. Cr. 8vo, pp. 140. Price, 1s. net; 2s. cloth.

<sup>3</sup> London: H. R. Allenson. Cr. 8vo, pp. 275. Price, 4s.

<sup>4</sup> London: H. R. Allenson. Cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price, 5s.

<sup>5</sup> London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 167.

an enthusiast in the cause of moral education, and a man of ripe experience in educational matters.

We have another volume of the very valuable *Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, which is being issued under the editorship of Professor G. Krüger. This is the *fifth* part, and contains a careful edition of *Leontios*<sup>1</sup> by Dr Gelzer.

*The Dominion of Christ*<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a series of discourses published in connection with the centenary of the London Missionary Society. They deal in a vigorous, unconventional way with the claims of Foreign Missions in the light of "modern religious thought and a century of experience. They discuss such subjects as the various missionary methods and agencies, the prospects of victory, patriotism and Missions, the vocation of the missionary, the place of education in Missions, the relation of the Churches to the work of Foreign Missions, etc.

A volume on *The Following of Christ*<sup>3</sup> comes from the Rev. Charles L. Marson, consisting of short passages from modern writers selected with great taste and correct judgment—altogether, in style and contents, a charming book.

*Cantica Canticorum*<sup>4</sup> is the title given to a translation of eighty-six sermons on the Song of Solomon by St Bernard. The translation is well done. The editorial work is equally careful. The book is very handsome in form. The Introductory Essay gives an excellent picture of the man, the times, and the ways of ecclesiastical life. Mabillon's Preface is also included, and there is a good index.

From Professor Kattenbusch of Giessen we have the first instalment of an elaborate historical examination of the *Apostles' Creed*.<sup>5</sup> The questions which have recently been raised on the Continent, the views which have been published by scholars of the eminence of Harnack, and the keen controversy which has gone

<sup>1</sup> *Leontios von Neapolis, Leben des Heiligen Johannes des barmherzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien*, herausgegeben, von Heinrich Gelzer. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xlviii. 202.

<sup>2</sup> By William Pierce, Minister of New Court Chapel, Tollington Park. London : Allenson. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 226.

<sup>3</sup> London : Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 199. Price, 5s.

<sup>4</sup> London : Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 535.

<sup>5</sup> *Das Apostolische Symbol. Seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte.* Von D. Ferdinand Kattenbusch, ordentl. Prof. der Theologie in Giessen. Erster Band : *Der Grundgestalt des Taufsymbols.* Leipzig : Hinrichs ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 410. Price, M.14.

deep into the religious world in Germany, make such an investigation opportune, and it would be difficult to find any man better furnished for an undertaking of this kind than Professor Kattenbusch. His previous studies, as well as his mental habit and theological bent, qualify him in an exceptional way for the task, and he gives himself to it with all the zeal and patience of a specialist. The value of his work will be best estimated when it is completed. But in this first volume he goes into the history of previous enquiries into the origin of the *Apostolicum*, and the questions connected with its form. He notices as fully as is needful the criticism of Laurentius Valla and his successors, and the views propounded by Luther, Erasmus, Calvin, Voss, Lavater, Calixtus, and others in former times. He next reviews the positions advocated in more recent times by scholars like Hahn, Caspari, Harnack, Zahn, and others on the Continent. English students are not forgotten. The contributions made to the subject by Ffoulkes, Heurtley, Swainson, Harvey, Lumby, Hort and others are all taken account of. This record of the work of previous enquirers being completed, Professor Kattenbusch investigates the history of the Western Formularies—Italian, African, Spanish, Gallic, Irish, Norwegian. He then turns to the story of the Eastern Formularies—the Syro-Palestinian Symbols (those of Antioch, Laodicea, Caesarea, Constantinople), and carries it on to the Nestorians, Lucian, Epiphanius and others. Looking at the various provincial forms in the West, he concludes that their origin is to be sought in the Roman Symbol. Further, he shows how weighty the reasons are for regarding the various Oriental forms as dependent forms. He finds their beginnings were probably in Syria and Palestine, but recognises no original type in all the Eastern formularies, and reaches the result that these, no less than the Western forms, are derived from the old Roman Symbol. The book is so full of minute detail that one sometimes feels almost lost in it. But all is obviously done with a care and patience which must make the work the standard authority on the subject.

Dr Paul Carus is well-known for his interest in Buddha and his system. He gathers up the results of his scientific studies, and presents them in a popular and compendious form in a very readable volume, which he calls *The Gospel of Buddha according to Old Records*.<sup>1</sup> He tells once again the story of the sage's life, eliminating those elements of it which he deems unquestionably apocryphal, and retaining only so much of the marvellous or miraculous in it as seems to have some moral significance. He gives also a lucid and attractive representation of the main points of Buddha's teaching as he understands them. He shows, at the same time, the place

<sup>1</sup> London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 275. Price, 6s.

which they hold in the general history of religion, and the relation in which they stand to the Christian faith. His comparisons between the doctrine of Buddha and that of Christ are so put as to exhibit mostly the points of agreement between the two religions, and to suggest new ways of looking at the great religious problems of modern times. The version which the book gives, both of the life and of the teaching of Buddha, is the author's own version. It is the view of the great Indian sage and his doctrine which Dr Carus thinks is the result of a critical study of the sources, and it is carefully fortified by reference and authority.

Messrs Denny and Lacey, perpetual vicars of Kempley and Madingley, have spent great pains on a defence of the legitimacy of the *English Hierarchy*.<sup>1</sup> They begin their argument naturally with the consecration of Matthew Parker to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. They discuss among other things the consecration of Barlow, the opinions of Henry VIIIth, Cranmer, and Barlow, the priesthood, the practice of the Roman Catholic Church, etc. They give the proof of the consecrations at length, adding a table of the consecration of Laud. There are appendices also on the Rites of Ordinations and other matters. The whole is introduced by a preface by the Bishop of Salisbury. The book will interest those who regard ecclesiastical questions of this kind as of great importance. It is written in good Latinity.

Mr Waddy's *Harmony of the Four Gospels*<sup>2</sup> appears in a second edition, revised and enlarged. It gives the text according to the Revised Version, arranges it chronologically in parallel columns, provides maps, notes, indices, and a very useful table for finding any particular passage. The notes are often of very considerable interest. They give compact and well-considered discussions of many of the most important and difficult topics, such as Luke's order of events, the Genealogies, the Temptation, the duration of our Lord's Ministry, the Lord's Prayer, the Passover, the order of the events following the Resurrection. The Harmony is one of distinct value.

Professor F. L. Steinmeyer, having completed his series of expository studies on our Lord's Parables and Discourses, proceeds with a similar series on the Epistle to the Romans. Two parts have come to hand, one dealing specially with Paul's treatment of the problem of Judaism in chapters ix.-xi., the other with the words of exhortation addressed to the Christian community at Rome in

<sup>1</sup> De Hierarchia Anglicana dissertatio apologetica, auctoribus Edwardo Denny, A.M., et T. A. Lacey, A.M. London: Clay & Son. 8vo, pp. 265. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> By S. D. Waddy, Q.C. London: Charles H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. xc. 243. Price, 5s.

chapters xii., xiii.<sup>1</sup> In three interesting and pleasantly written chapters these subjects are discussed in the first section—*das Seelenschmerz des Paulus, der Fernblick des Apostels, das Ideal des Propheten*. In the second section we have an analysis of the practical address with which the statement of the relation of Israel to the Gentile world and to God's purpose in the administration of His grace is followed up. Its motive, its tenor, and the various points of Christian duty, in their several bearings on the Church, the State, and the individual, are carefully explained. What is said of Paul's attitude to the law and of the argument in the 11th chapter deserves special consideration.

The *Expositor*<sup>2</sup> and the *Expository Times*<sup>3</sup> continue their useful course with undiminished vigour. The former has completed the first volume of its fifth series. The articles are well distributed between Biblical and doctrinal subjects. They include papers, some of them of great importance, on Old Testament questions by Professors Driver, Cheyne, Karl Budde, A. B. Davidson, G. A. Smith and others. Due attention is given at the same time to New Testament subjects, which are represented by Professor Ramsay, Dr Dods, the Rev. John Watson and others. There are also some valuable doctrinal discussions, embracing papers by Dr Fairbairn on the *Person of Christ*, and others. The latter magazine has completed its sixth volume. Its contents are of as great variety and interest as before. There is a long list of contributors, many of them men of eminence in their several departments. Among the more notable articles, we may refer specially to the series on the Theology of the Epistle to the Romans, by the Rev. A. C. Headlam, and the continuation of Professor A. B. Davidson's papers on the Theology of Isaiah. There are many other contributions which might be named as scholarly and instructive. The editor's paragraphs and his notes on books are as pointed and seasonable as ever.

*Runic Rocks*<sup>4</sup> is the title given to a fascinating story by the well-known German novelist, Wilhelm Jensen. Its object is to discuss and illustrate the true view of the use and end of life. The scene is laid in a Frisian island, the pastor of which represents the idea of life which makes it simply a preparation for eternity. The pastor's wife is the representative of the theory of life which sees in

<sup>1</sup> Studien über den Brief des Paulus an die Römer. I. Paulus und das Judenthum, Römer, bis 11. 8vo, pp. 107. Price, M. 1.80. II. Die Paraklese des Paulus an die Christenheit zu Rom. 8vo, pp. 123. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo. pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. viii. 568. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 269. Price, 6s.

it only emptiness and disappointment; and a noble woman of the name of Walmot stands for the theory of life which makes its shortness the reason for filling it with as much good and gladness as possible. There are some good studies, and much effective writing, in the book. The translation, which reads well, is by Marianne E. Suckling. There is a Preface, too, by Professor Fiedeler.

Dr Franz Hettinger, Professor of Theology in the University of Würzburg, enjoys a good reputation as a Christian Apologist in his own Church and beyond it. The section on *Revealed Religion*,<sup>1</sup> which is one of the best parts of his *Apologie des Christenthums*, is now published separately in English, and is edited, with an introduction on the *Assent of Faith*, by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. It will repay perusal.

The Rector of Barkham, Berks, works out a novel idea in a very pleasing way in his *Books Fatal to their Authors*.<sup>2</sup> It is a dainty and entertaining volume, the last chapter, which treats of some *Literary Martyrs*, being of special interest.

That Mr Tipple's *Sunday Mornings at Norwood*<sup>3</sup> should have reached a second edition is only what should have been expected. It would have been a strange thing had this token of public appreciation not been given them. The *Ascension* as it appears in the great passage in the fourth chapter of Ephesians, the "*Election of God*," as Paul speaks of it in the ninth chapter of Romans, *Unceasing Prayer*, the *Rejoicing of Charity*, *Joshua's Vision*, are among the subjects of these discourses, which everywhere have the stamp of a fine, devout, and original mind.

*A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed*<sup>4</sup> is a book addressed to "believers and communicants of the Church," and intended to awaken in them "a sense of their responsibility as witnesses for God." It falls into three divisions. The first is occupied in part with a statement of some of the effects of a Creedless Gospel, but mainly with the Apologetics of Christianity, the basis sought for it in Natural Religion, the scientific basis, the philosophical, the ethical, the social. The nature and the limitations of these various bases are explained, and the author then proceeds in the second section to give the positive Gospel Creed stating the cardinal truths of the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Holy Spirit, the Church, the Judgment, in their relations to

<sup>1</sup> London: Burns & Oates. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 208. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> By P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A. London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Prayers and Sermons by the Rev. S. A. Tipple. London: Allenson. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 393. Price, 6s.

<sup>4</sup> By Henry Y. Satterlee, D.D., Rector of Calvary Church, New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo., pp. xiii. 522.

evidence, to the doctrine of the Church, &c. The third part deals with the practical questions of the courage, the knowledge, and the joy of the Christian. There are also Appendices on the Apostles' Creed, and on Bishop Westcott's "Social Aspects of Christianity." The book deals with these apologetic, doctrinal, and practical questions in a free, popular, sympathetic way, which should make it useful and attractive to those to whom it is specially addressed.

Among the various Commentaries which have recently been given to the public, Strack & Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar* is by no means the least useful. There are others which are stronger in certain things. But it has qualities of its own which give it a distinct and honourable place. It is good from the scholar's point of view. Often it has also the special value of insight into the spiritual meaning of Scripture, and sympathy with its spiritual message. We are glad to see it reaching its second edition. The second, third, and fourth sections of the New Testament division are now before us in their second and thoroughly revised issue.<sup>1</sup> These include the Gospel of John by Luthardt, and Acts by Zöckler; the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans by Zöckler, Schnedermann, and Luthardt; the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians, and the Catholic Epistles by Wohlenberg, Bürger, and Luthardt. The literary and historical questions connected with the writings are examined at sufficient length for the purposes of the series, the general attitude to questions of criticism being that of a moderate and reasonable conservatism. A brief account is given of the literature of the exegesis. The plan of the Commentary proper is to give the text in German, footnotes dealing with all matters of reading and interpretation belonging to the Greek text, and an analysis of the run of thought paragraph by paragraph. The exegesis is generally sound and good, avoiding all that is bold or sensational. Luthardt's work is of the best quality. His merits as an expounder of the Johannine writings are not to be overlooked.

The sixth and seventh volume of Reuss's *Das alte Testament*<sup>2</sup> are

<sup>1</sup> München: Beck. Zweite Abtheilung. Evangelium Johannis, von Luthardt und Apostelgeschichte, von Zöckler. Lex. 8vo, pp. xi. 323. Price, M.5.

Dritte Abtheilung. Briefe Pauli an die Thessalonicher und Galater, von Zöckler; Korintherbriefe, von Schnedermann, und Römerbrief, von Luthardt. Lex. 8vo, pp. xiv. 542. Price, M.8.

Vierte Abtheilung. Briefe an die Epheser, Kolosser, Philemon, und Philipper, von Wohlenberg; Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, und Judas, von Bürger; Briefe Johannis von Luthardt. Lex. 8vo, pp. xi. 280. Price, M.5.

<sup>2</sup> Das alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet, und erläutert von D. Edouard Reuss; herausgegeben aus dem Nachlasse des Verfassers von Lic. Erichson, Direktor des Theologischen Studienstifts, und Pfarrer Lic. Dr Horst in Strass-

now in the hands of the public, and the work is thereby completed. The editors, Licentiate Erichson and Dr Horst, have done their part well, and deserve the cordial thanks of all admirers of the Strassburg veteran, whose loss is so widely deplored. The sixth volume gives Reuss's rendering and exposition of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, and the general view which he took of the religious and ethical philosophy of the Hebrews, as seen in the Wisdom of Jesus, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the non-canonical writings belonging to the last period of pre-Christian Judaism. The closing volume is occupied with the political and polemical literature of the Hebrews, to which classes he assigns the Books of Ruth, Daniel, and Esther, together with I., II. and III. Maccabees, Judith, Bel and the Dragon, and the Epistle of Jeremiah. A very useful *Register* is added. The series of seven volumes gives us a conspectus of Reuss's interpretation of the whole range of Hebrew literature, from the earliest period down to Christian times, which we should be sorry to miss. They show in how many things his criticism was before his time, and in how many cases suggestions thrown out by him have been taken up and carried out to constructive results by others. Much is to be gained by his translations as well as by his investigation of sources, and his exegetical notes. The most interesting parts probably of these last volumes are those dealing with the non-canonical writings, particularly the two books of *Wisdom* and the three books of *Maccabees*. In the minor articles, Tobias, Susannah, Baruch, The Prayer of Manasseh, and others, much is said that demands consideration, as regards their ideas and their relations to later Christian thought, as well as their origin and authorship. The growth of the Messianic Hope, the place given it or denied it in these books, and the results which they yield to the student of Jewish theology, are subjects on which it is always profitable to know the mind of a scholar like Reuss, and the introductions to these writings deal with these questions briefly, but instructively.

The two *Epistles to the Thessalonians* make the tenth section of the revised issue of Meyer's *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar*.<sup>1</sup> Lünemann's work is practically superseded in this new edition. So complete is the revision and so different the method. In his exegesis, his criticism, and the whole way of handling the Epistles, Herr Bornemann is entirely independent of his predecessor. The

burg. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn; Edinburgh and London: Williams and Norgate. 8vo. Sechster Band: Religions- und Moral Philosophie der Hebräer. Pp. 437. Price, M.7.15. Siebenter Band: Die politische und polemische Litteratur der Hebräer. Pp. 279 und 24. Price, M.5.20.

<sup>1</sup> Die Thessalonicherbriefe. Völlig neu bearbeitet von Lic. theol. W. Bornemann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 708. Price, M.9.

work is not only brought up to date with even more than German thoroughness, but is laid out on a vastly larger scale. It includes much that Lünemann omitted. The result is a volume of something like three times the size of the original work. It will not be felt, however, to be too bulky, if we have regard to the variety and interest of the additional matter. Great pains are spent, for example, on the record of the literature of the Epistles, and especially on the history of the exegesis. This is given with remarkable fulness and with most commendable care. It is instructive in a high degree, and shows an acquaintance with the works of English writers, which is not only extensive, but surprisingly exact. This is too rare an equipment of the German scholar. Another departure from Lünemann's method, and one of very considerable importance, is the introduction of a general review of the contents of each Epistle after the special exegesis is completed. Herr Bornemann's plan is to begin with the necessary introductory statements on the city and Church of Thessalonica, the historical presuppositions of the Epistle, and the more obvious scope of the writing. Then follows the exegesis, which leaves nothing unnoticed, whether in grammar or in idea, that is of real importance. The results of the detailed interpretation are here gathered up, and the purpose and tenor of the Epistle stated anew in the light of these results. This is done in a very informing way. It also has the advantage of leaving all questions of criticism to the end, to be dealt with under the force of the impression made by the whole previous study. These questions are examined with eminent ability and moderation. Nothing could be fairer or more searching than the criticism of the various forms of attack upon the Second Epistle. The defence of the genuineness of the Epistle deserves special attention, above all, in the argument drawn from the positive character and contents of the letter. In most cases, we prefer the original Meyer to the elaborate revision by other hands. In this case the later work is to be preferred to the earlier.

The very useful series of compendious theological manuals, known as the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*,<sup>1</sup> proceeds apace. The ninth section is devoted to a *History of the Christian literature of the first three Centuries*. It is by Professor Krüger of Giessen, a very competent hand. The older histories, excellent as some of them were, have become out of date in a large part of their contents. So numerous are the additions which have been made to the matter of the history, and so new the light in which many questions have been placed. In this comparatively small volume

<sup>1</sup> Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 255. Price, M.4.80.

the results of the literary discoveries which have been made in recent years are gathered up and given in a very clear and useful form. The most important of the many speculations which have been thrown out in connection with these discoveries are also noticed. The book at the same time is more than a mere digest of what has been written by others. It is the work of a scholar who, by independent study, has acquired a first hand acquaintance with much of the field, and is able to give a critical account of the main points. In method and in his general idea of the historian's task, Professor Krüger is most in sympathy with Nitzsch and Overbeck. He limits himself, as far as the case permits, to the strictly literary aspects of his subject, leaving questions of a doctrinal or ecclesiastical interest to the theologian. He also aims at such an arrangement of the matter as will give, as nearly as possible, an organic construction of the case. He does not regard it as belonging to the scope of such a history to give any account of the Jewish and heathen writings of the period in their relations to the Christian. He refers briefly to the New Testament books, and this is the least satisfactory part of the book. It contains too much of the short and easy way of disposing of serious questions. The whole seven Catholic Epistles, for example, are dismissed in a few lines as probably unauthentic. The history is dealt with in three main divisions—the Primitive Christian Literature, the Gnostic Literature, and the Ecclesiastical. Each has its sub-divisions, the first dealing in separate chapters with the Epistles, the Apocalypses, the Historical books and the Didactic writings. The closing sections are given to the legendary literature (the Abgar-legend, the Acts of Peter, Paul, and Thecla, and the Clementines) and the *Martyria*. Within the limits proposed to him Professor Krüger has produced a book which will be of great advantage to students. Its usefulness is increased by the addition of an excellent Chronological Table, showing how the various writings are distributed over different countries and periods.

There is perhaps no part of the New Testament that so greatly needs fresh study as the Book of Acts. There is none on which we have fewer commentaries of the first-class; none to which men have been more tardy in applying the accumulating results of historical investigation. An exposition from a scholar of the reputation of Professor Blass of Halle,<sup>1</sup> therefore, is all the more welcome. It is a very material addition to the exegesis of Acts, the work of a

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter*. Editio philologica, apparatu critico, commentario perpetuo, indice verborum illustrata, auctore Frederico Blass. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. 334. Price, M.14.

student who is peculiarly strong in his own special department. That department, however, is a somewhat limited, though very definite and important one—that of philology. The Commentary is professedly a philological Commentary, and it does not attempt to overstep its province. There is much, therefore, that we miss in it. It adds little or nothing to the historical study of the book. It touches only slightly in the Prolegomena on some of the broader questions. It has something to say on the miraculous element in the narrative, but mainly with the view of showing how far the genuineness and veracity of the work remain unaffected by the view taken of that element. The questions of authorship, date, and place, are also dealt with rather briefly. The paragraphs given to these, however, are of great interest, especially as regards the value which Professor Blass attaches to the traditional account of the writer, and the testimony which he bears to the general credibility of the narrative, and the remarkable accuracy of its references to persons, places, and institutions.

The importance of this new contribution to the interpretation of Acts lies, however, chiefly in two things, philology and textual criticism. The notes are almost entirely philological, but they are of great value in that line of study. On almost every page we have some useful observation on the vocabulary of the book. There is an immense wealth of grammatical and lexical science expended on the illustration of word and phrase in the exegesis proper. In addition to this, the Prolegomena furnish two very instructive studies, one on the composition of the book, and another on the language of the New Testament generally and the diction of Luke in particular. These are of great value. The use of *θέλω* and *βούλομαι*, *ἵνα* and *ὥπως*, *ὁρῶ*, *βλέπω*, and *θεάομαι*, and other verbs and particles, is clearly defined and admirably illustrated.

A more mixed judgment must be pronounced on the treatment of the text. Professor Blass, dropping the titles Occidental and Oriental and the terminology adopted by Westcott and Hort, designates the two great classes of documentary authorities simply as *α* and *β*. The former includes the great Uncials, *Σ B A C* and their *confrères*; the latter the witnesses of which *D* is the best type. Dr Blass's object is to exhibit the distinct text represented by the latter, and to bring out its importance. His book may be said to be an exposition of this text of Acts. His argument is full of interest, and undoubtedly he calls attention to some facts which are apt to be overlooked. On the other hand, he seems to fail entirely in establishing the claims which he makes on behalf of this secondary text. He has to admit the difficulty of disentangling it, which arises from the fact that it is mixed up with the other, even in the purest documents. He makes considerable use of a third or intermediate text, represented by such

manuscripts as E, 137, &c. This is skilfully done, yet not quite convincingly. He has further to admit that even his best authorities are depraved or mutilated to an unfortunate extent, and that the consentient testimony of the witnesses included under *a* can scarcely be gainsaid. And at last he has to fall back upon the expedient of conjectural emendation. The conclusion to which he comes is thus expressed—"Erunt sic quoque antiqui nostra fide digniores, quam recentes, suntque sequendi, nisi ratio cujusque loci aliud jusserit. *Eam autem rationem potiozem omni auctoritate codicum habeo.*" The place which he would give to conjectural emendation is vastly miscalculated. It may suit the kind of criticism with which classical scholars amuse themselves. It is not applicable to the New Testament.

Among smaller publications we notice a clear and interesting pamphlet by Dr Julius Friedländer on *Spinoza*<sup>1</sup> and his service to Ethics; a second edition of an instructive discussion of the question of *Personality*; <sup>2</sup> an acute little treatise on the *Ethics of Gambling*,<sup>3</sup> in the main a reprint from the "Contemporary Review," discussing the theory, economic nature, and moral quality and effects of the practice; a tasteful help to devotion, *Week by Week*,<sup>4</sup> in which the Epistle or Gospel for each Sunday in the year is accompanied by some suitable verses; a seventh edition of the Rev. George H. Giddins's useful compilation, *The Christian Travellers' Continental Handbook*:<sup>5</sup> excellent, cheap, and handy additions to Teubner's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Græcorum et Romanorum*; <sup>6</sup> a second edition of an Essay, full of good matter, by Professor Theodor Zahn, on *Epictetus*; <sup>7</sup> and pamphlets issuing from the Universalist Publishing House, on *The Balance-Sheet of Criticism*<sup>8</sup> and the *New Testament Narratives of the Resurrection*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spinoza, ein Meister der Ethik. Berlin : Dreher. 8vo, pp. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Die Macht des Persönlichen im Leben. Berlin : Wiegandt u. Grieben. Small 8vo, pp. 63.

<sup>3</sup> By W. Douglas Mackenzie, M.A. London : The Sunday School Union. Small 8vo, pp. 90. Price, 1s.

<sup>4</sup> By Fraser Cornish. London : Macmillan. Small 8vo, pp. 111. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London : Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 162.

<sup>6</sup> Anthologiae Latinae Supplementa. Vol. I. Damasi Epigrammata, &c. Edidit Maximilianus Ihm. Cr. 8vo, pp. lii. 145. Price, M.2.40. Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichæos Disputatio, edidit Augustus Brinkmann. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 50. Price, M.1.

<sup>7</sup> Der Stoiker Epiktet und sein Verhältniss zum Christenthum. Erlangen u. Leipzig : Deichert. Cr. 8vo, pp. 47. Price, M.0.75.

<sup>8</sup> By I. M. Attwood, Boston. Cr. 8vo, pp. 32.

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